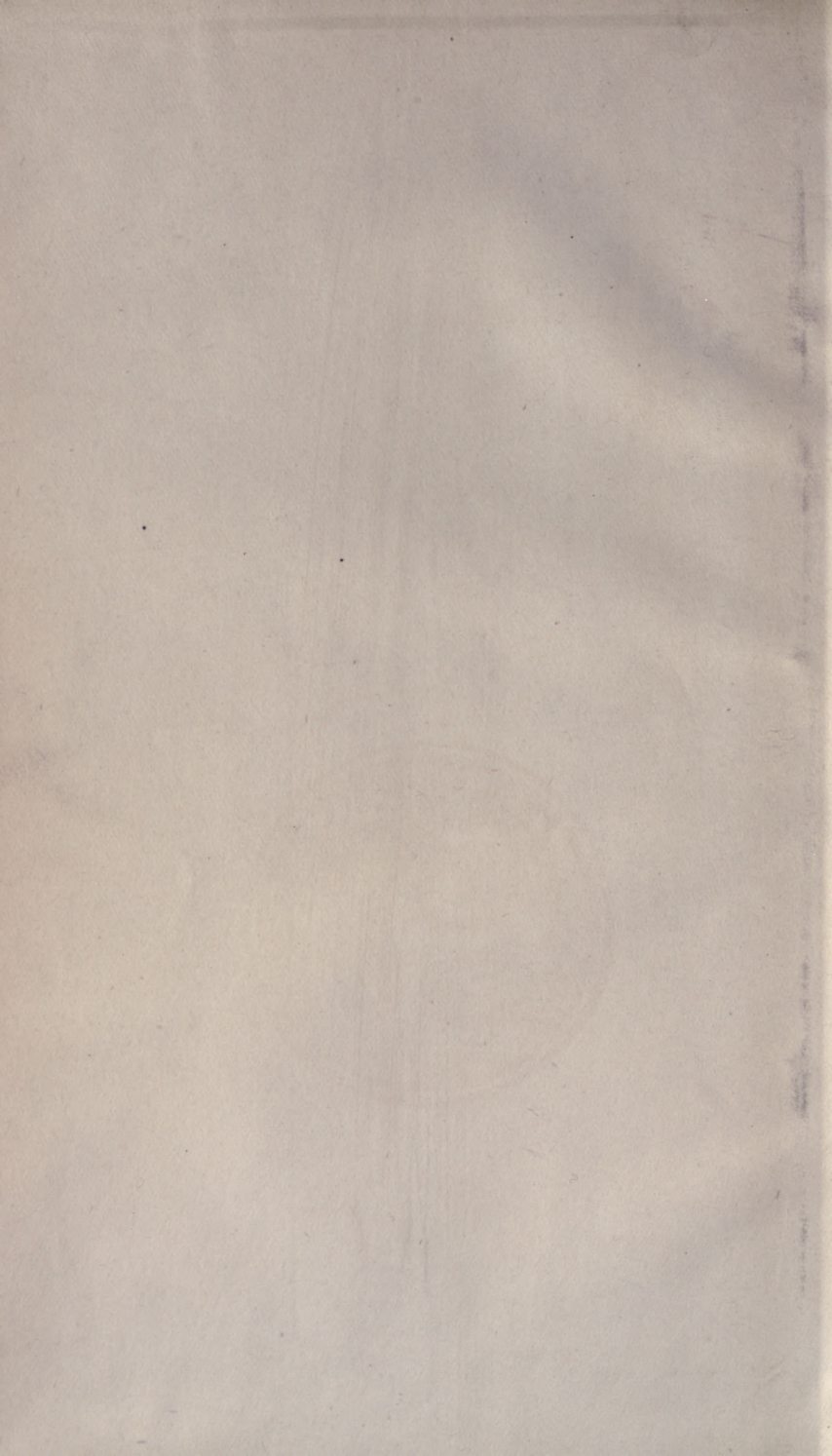


THE ROYAL CANADIAN INSTITUTE



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ARCHÆOLOGIA ÆLIANA:

OR,

Miscellaneous Tracts

RELATING TO ANTIQUITY.

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

NEW SERIES.

VOLUME VII.



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ARCHÆOLOGIA ÆLIANA.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING, 6 FEBRUARY, 1865.

John Clayton, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.—*Patron*: His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, K.G. — *President*: The Right Hon. Lord Ravensworth. — *Vice-Presidents*: Sir Charles M. L. Monck, Bart., Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, Bart., John Hodgson Hinde, Esq., and John Clayton, Esq. — *Treasurer*: Mr. Wm. Dodd. — *Secretaries*: Edward Charlton, Esq., M.D., and the Rev. John Collingwood Bruce, LL.D. — *Council*: The Rev. Edward Hussey Adamson, the Rev. James Raine, and Messrs. Richard Cail, Robert Richardson Dees, William Dickson, Martin Dunn, Wm. Hylton Dyer Longstaffe (*Editor*), John Peter Mulcaster, William Pears, Edward Spoor, Robert White, and William Woodman.

NEW MEMBER.—*Mr. George Markham Tweddell*, Stokesley.

DONATIONS OF BOOKS.—*From Publishing Societies*. The Archæological Journal, No. 83. — The Canadian Journal, November, 1864. — *From the Author*. The new edition of Dr. Daniel Wilson's Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, 2 vols., 1863.

DONATIONS OF OBJECTS.—*From Mr. Morrison*. Portions of a thin brass vessel, probably of the kind known as camp kettles, found 20 feet below the surface in operations for the donor's iron works near Coxhoe. — *From Mr. Lamb*, of the Shaw, near Bellingham. A greenstone celt in perfect condition, found in a bog on his farm.

TREASURERSHIP.—The annual accounts show receipts (including a credit balance from last year of £35. 10s. 8d.) amounting to £182. 4s. 6d., and payments of £112. 4s. 6d. The Treasurer is formally allowed to charge a commission for the collection of subscriptions similar to that hitherto charged in practice for the services of a collector.

PROPOSED MUSEUM.—Mr. White, the retiring Treasurer, hands to the Trustees, appointed on December 7, a note in their names of a deposit of £628. 16s. lodged with Messrs. Lambton & Co. The subject generally is referred to the Chairman, the two Secretaries, and Messrs. Spoor and Turner, as a Committee to communicate with the Corporation. Mr. Archibald Dunn submits some designs for the intended building.

FIFTY-FIRST REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE fifty-first year of the Society's existence, just now completed, has passed without any very notable occurrence. More new members, however, have been admitted than during some previous years, but the papers presented at the Society's monthly meetings have not been so numerous. The new era that was to have been inaugurated on the completion of the fiftieth year has, as yet, shown little signs of appearing, but the Council have to exhibit a prospect of better days, especially as regards the grand object of increasing the accommodation for the Society's collections. The hopes that have been held out so long of obtaining a new Museum are now about to be realised, and perhaps no time more appropriate for the laying of the foundation-stone of this new building could be selected than that of the approaching visit of the British Archæological Association to the North. The collections of the Society have been increased during the past year by the acquisition, at a moderate price, of the valuable Roman altars and inscriptions belonging to the late Dr. Charles Thorpe, of Ryton, and by several donations, all tending to prove that the interest of the public in archæology has by no means diminished. That such is the case has been still further shown by the exertions of the magistrates of Northumberland, in conjunction with this Society, to preserve the gateway lately discovered on the line of the Roman Wall at Walbottle Dean. The meeting of the Archæological Association, at Durham, will, no doubt, attract many both to that ancient city, and subsequently to Newcastle. The Secretaries of this Society have duly communicated to the Association the resolutions come to by the Society to afford that reunion every assistance possible; and to assure to the Association a cordial reception in case its members should visit Newcastle. The Council has this day placed before the Society the plans and elevations for the new Museum, prepared at the request of the Committee by Mr. A. M. Dunn, of this town. The objects to be obtained in the proposed building are to avoid obstructing the view of the Castle from the vicinity of St. Nicholas' Church, to keep the street front of the Museum as nearly as possible in accordance with the style of the ancient building, and, at a moderate cost, to provide sufficient space for the collections. The entrance to the new Museum will be by a door close to the southern entrance of the present Blackgate, from whence the visitor will pass into a hall ninety feet in length by fifty feet in breadth, and lighted from the roof alone. The roof itself will be supported by a row of five Norman pillars down

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 on to the western
 front towards
 the Old Castle,
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CORSENSIDE PARISH

PLAN OF
ANCIENT BRITISH REMAINS
NEAR
BIRTLEY & BARRASFORD,
NORTH TYNEDALE.

SCALE 1 Inch to a Mile

Camps and Standing Stones
Terraces and Trenches
Flintstone Delves and Scoria
Rivers and Streams
Boundaries of Parishes
Railways — Roads
Traditional Sites of Battles

1050 ² above Sea



the centre of the hall, and from thence, passing beneath the railway arch next to the carriage road, a passage will lead down to the western window of the guard-room in the Castle. The western front towards the street will present a curtain wall in the style of the Old Castle, connecting that building with the Blackgate. Should this design, with such modifications or changes as the Society may suggest, be carried into effect, the antiquaries of Newcastle will possess a Museum excellently adapted for the study of their collection of antiquities, and attached, moreover, to a building of high historical interest. The Council trust that ere the next anniversary arrives the Museum will have made considerable progress, if it be not by that time completed.

ON ANCIENT BRITISH REMAINS NEAR BIRTLEY AND BARRASFORD, NORTH TYNE.

BY THE REV. GEO. ROME HALL.

IN September, 1862, a brief account of certain ancient remains observed near the village of Birtley, in North Tynedale, chiefly on the estate of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, was communicated to this Society through Dr. Charlton. A description more in detail was then promised. I have since that time been able to take a more accurate and wider survey of the district, in superficial extent about 30 square miles, which is well defined by the rivers Rede and North Tyne on the north and west, and by the Gunnarton or Barrasford Crags and the Watling Street on the south and east. It seemed preferable for archæological purposes to choose such a locality, with which a four years' residence had made me intimately acquainted, rather than to venture at present upon a survey embracing the whole area of the river-basin of the North Tyne and its tributaries. I may add also that during the last autumn I have had the pleasure and advantage of going over a great portion of the district with Revs. Dr. Bruce, W. Greenwell, and J. F. Bigge, and Mr. MacLauchlan.

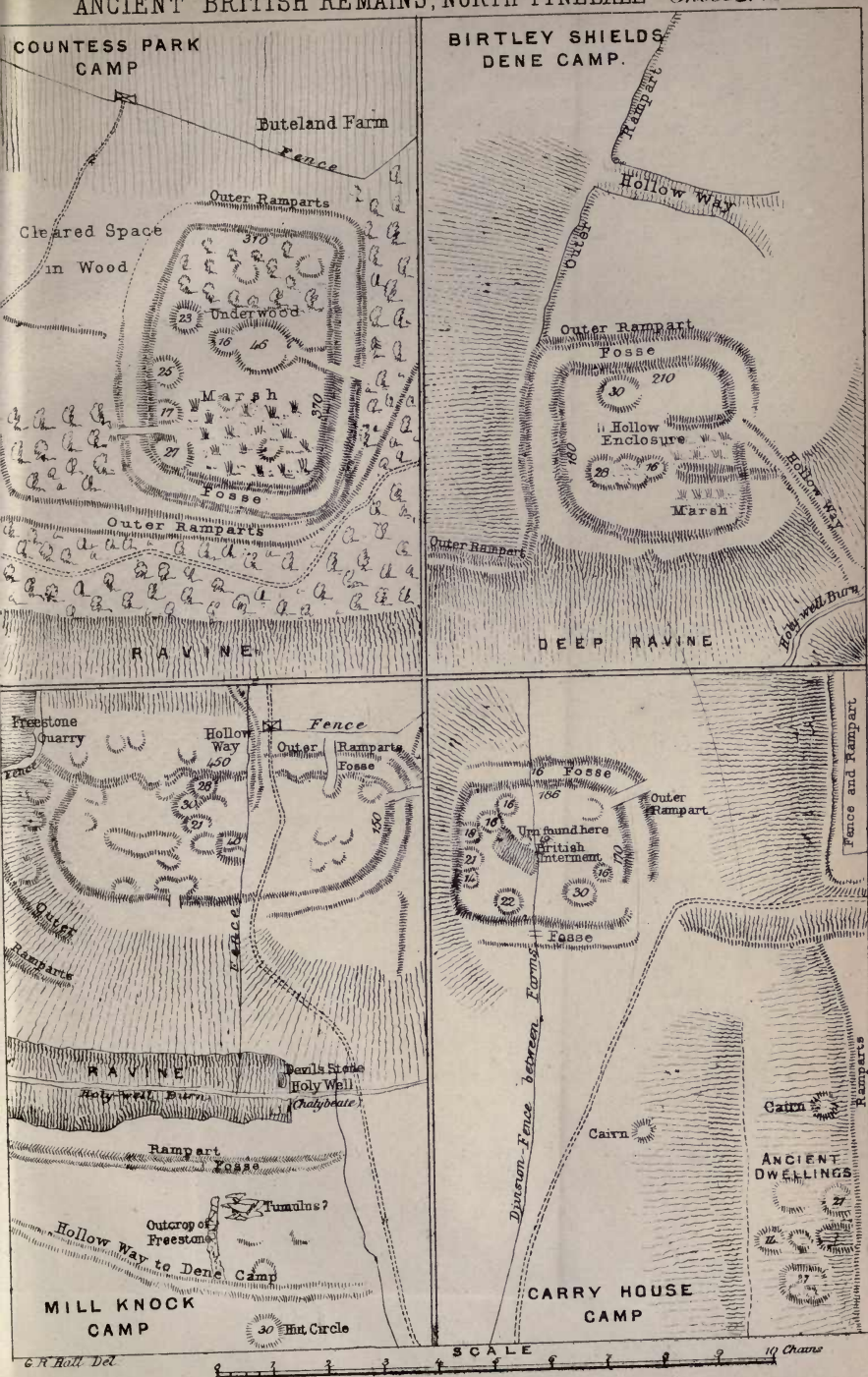
The physical characteristics of this valley—the rounded hills and high escarpments of the carboniferous or mountain limestone, and the numerous intersecting “denes,” with the great range of columnar basalt—offer many “coigns of vantage” for aboriginal castrametation and settlement. The district, it should be remarked, is, comparatively speaking, isolated by two rivers not easily fordable; and this, com-

bined with the pastoral occupation of most of the inhabitants, has tended to conserve in an unusual manner the ancient vestiges now described for the first time.

These primitive remains consist of camps or fortlets, terrace-lines of culture, iron-stone workings, standing stones, and burial barrows. These I will take in order:—

CAMPS OR FORTLETS. One of the finest examples in western Northumberland of a valley-fastness, or stronghold, near the margin of the river, is the *Countess Park Camp*. It is placed on an extensive platform at the point of junction of two deep and wide ravines within a bow-shot from the North Tyne. Its area, if we include the fosse and outer rampart, is about three acres, and it is therefore one-third larger than the remarkable fort on Warden Hill, and almost thrice the extent of Bell's Hunkin Camp, near Keilder. The ground slopes gently upwards towards Buteland House on the north, which is the only weak side. Here the ramparts are obliterated, but the ditch can be easily traced—determining the camp to be irregularly rectangular in form, with rounded corners. The rampart-walls are of massive blocks of freestone, unhewn and generally water-worn, with larger “binding stones” at intervals for additional strength. The fosse is between three and four yards wide, beyond which, on the south-west, there appears to have been a second outer rampart. This would protect a narrow outlet, as it seems to be, from the camp towards the level space which is now an open glade in the woods. An enclosure, nearly circular, of the extraordinary diameter of 46 feet, occupies the centre of the fortress. A kind of guard-chamber fronts the door-way at the eastern side, from which may also be traced the foundations of walls, nearly parallel, that proceed in the fashion of an avenue towards the chief entrance of the *caer*. This entrance is in the east, the usual position. Adjoining this great central circle is a smaller one opening out of it, having the wall in common, on the west side. Four or five hut-circles or “old buildings,” as the woodman terms them, are visible in other directions; a cluster of two, one on each side of the south-western adit, being in excellent preservation. In their dimensions these are typical hut-circles of the district, varying in diameter from 17 to 27 feet. The next valley-fort is the *Carry House Camp*, one mile distant to the south, where a free-stone escarpment literally overhangs its site, which resembles in this respect the old Celtic town of Greaves Ash, near Linhope. Between the Park and Carry House forts, and relatively more elevated on the slope of the valley-basin, stands the *Birtley Shield's Dene Camp*, on the verge of a deep, precipitous ravine. It is surrounded by a massive

ANCIENT BRITISH REMAINS, NORTH TYNEDALE *Sheet N^o 1*



ANCIENT BRITISH REMAINS, NORTH TYNEDALE — SHEET N^o 2.

BIRTLEY WEST FARM
CAMP.

Terraces

Fence

250

260

24

27

21

Hollow
Enclosures (for Cattle)

22

Good Wife's

Hollow Way

Hot (Holt)

Hollow Way

Ancient
Dwellings

120

Hollow Enclosure

Dan's (Danes')
Cairn

Ruins of
Cottages

BRITISH BURIAL-PLACE?
Tumuli (or Cuirasses)

ancient traces of ancient cultivation
upon the very elevated site

Outer Rampart Massive Blocks of Freestone

HIGH SHIELD GREEN
CAMP
OR
NIGHT FOLDS

BUTELAND CAMP

Outward Rampart
Fosse

210

Faint Traces of
Hut, Circles

Enclosure

Chief Entrance

Buteland Burn

BIRTLEY TERRACES
($\frac{1}{2}$ Scale)

Road

Closes or
Cow's Grass
for Villagers

Fence

Birtley

Elevated
Platform

330

Ancient Foundations
on
Outcrop of Limestone

Fence

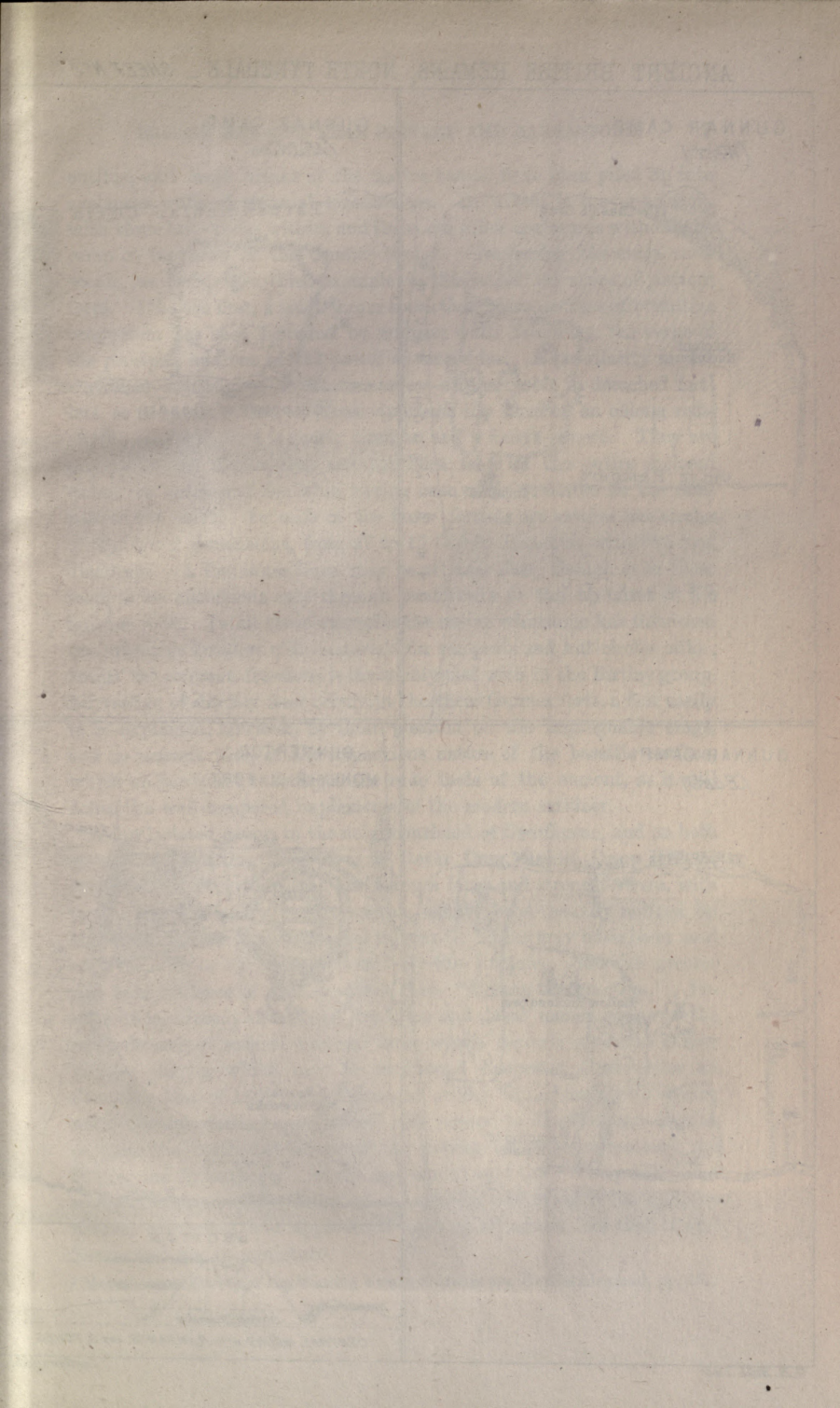
rampart, strengthened by a broad fosse on the west and north. In form it is so nearly square that it is marked in the Ordnance Survey as a *Roman* Camp, but the rounded corners—the irregular southern rampart—and three distinct hut-circles militate against this supposition. A strong wall, passing from the central space of this fort, projects externally on the eastern side. Another wall runs parallel on the opposite side of the entrance, but does not project beyond the rampart. These inner walls would flank and cover the approach to the camp on the only accessible side, and might form a suitable shelter for the cattle of the inhabitants in times of danger. A hollow way, evidently artificial, and of considerable depth, has been cut through the escarpment on the north, which forms a second fosse, and leads down to the Countess Park and Carry House Camps. In the case of each camp, especially in that of the last named, the closely adjoining ridges would afford a dangerous vantage-ground for an enemy; and the sites can only be explained by supposing that these commanding positions were in the possession of the same or a friendly tribe. The *Carry House Camp* is remarkable for several peculiarities:—for the number of hut-circles in its limited area of about an acre, which are chiefly grouped against the circumference of the fort westwards, like those of a camp on Croydon-hill; for the discovery of a cist with enclosed urn in draining a few years since, and for a fence-wall nearly bisecting the whole area—which separates between two ancient farm-holdings—a proof that this camp has been a well-known landmark for many ages. A fourth valley-fastness exists on the *Birtley West Farm*, in which is an internal rampart. The site is on a rounded eminence called “The Good Wife Hot” (Saxon, *Holt*), still partially covered with bush, but its outline, apparently rectangular, has been rendered indistinct by surrounding tillage, and, perhaps, by the occupation of a later race.

We may now pass to another class of *caerau*, the upland or hill-fortresses of the district. These are characterised by a greater elevation of site rather than by any constructive peculiarities. The *Buteland Camp*, overlooking the valleys of the Rede and North Tyne, and the Garret Hot Camp on the right bank of the latter river, has been incidentally noticed by Mr. Hodgson in his Notes of a Journey to Mouncees in August, 1814,¹ as “a round camp-like place of large dimensions.” It covers about an acre and a half, and is in form an irregular rectangle, with corners rounded off. The rampart is of massive freestone blocks, and is surrounded by a wide fosse. An additional defence, unique in the district, but not unusual in other parts of Northumberland, has been afforded by a second massive rampart, projected like the arch of an ellipse

¹ Raine's Memoirs of the Rev. John Hodgson, Vol. I., p. 149.

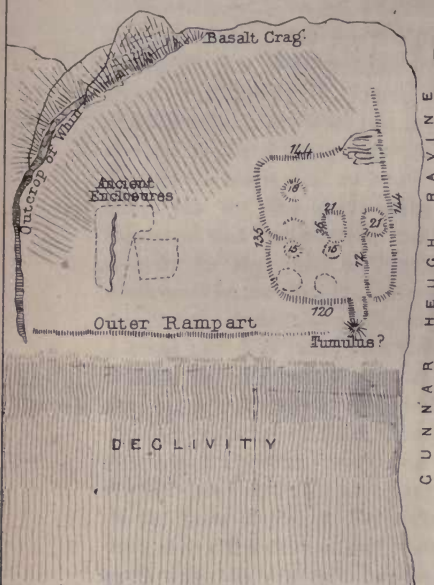
on the eastern—the weakest side. At *High Shield Green* is an ancient fortified work, called the “*Nightfolds*,” resembling the “Camp” on Errington Hill Head noticed by Dr. Bruce, which is also popularly termed “*Nightfolds*.” Traces of four or five hut-circles exist here, and the foundations of two inner parallel walls, whose purpose in primitive or mediæval times may have originated the traditional name. Though the escarpment on which the camp is placed is nearly 900 feet above the sea, the surrounding slopes are considered an excellent “summer-feed” or pasture; and the fort may have served as a place of security for aboriginal herdsman and their cattle. One mile to the south-west is the *Mill-knock Camp*—an acre and a half in area—which occupies the summit of a lofty rounded hill. It is of an elliptical form. A broad and deep fosse, with massive double rampart, renders it secure towards the east, where alone it could be assailed. The entrance on this side is protected by a kind of guard-chamber; and six other hut-circles, besides a four-sided oblong dwelling, are yet visible. This has been a most important work, and commands a prospect only limited by the Cheviots and the Crossfell range. Its site is exceedingly well-chosen on the brow of abrupt declivities on the north, west, and south, now worked as a freestone quarry; and where there is a gentler slope on the south-west, the approach has been guarded by two outer concentric ramparts.

These seven camps, which form the Birtley group, are all in excellent preservation. The next great centre of aboriginal occupation is in the neighbourhood of Gunnarton and Barrasford, in the south of the district. Here three ancient forts occupy the elevated summits of the precipitous basalt crags. Several gaps or fissures, locally called “*Heughs*,” occur in the protruded mass which ranges from west to east in the line of this portion of the great fault that stretches from Sewingshields to Bam-borough and Dunstanborough. The fissures mark off several isolated slopes and platforms, well-adapted for such castrametation. And it is not improbable that these almost impregnable strongholds constituted the great “camp of refuge” of the neighbouring tribes, and their final retreat, where they made their last ineffectual stand against the invincible Roman legions. Two of these are situated on the sides, one on each of a deep pass called the *Gunnar Heugh*, close to the loftiest peak of the range. The west fort covers only about half-an-acre, in which are four distinct hut-circles and an oblong enclosure 36 feet long by 21 feet wide. But a high out-burst of the whin on the west appears to have been joined by a rampart proceeding from the south-western angle of the camp, so that an enclosure of considerable extent has been formed beyond the limits of the fort itself. The second camp is nearly quadrilateral in



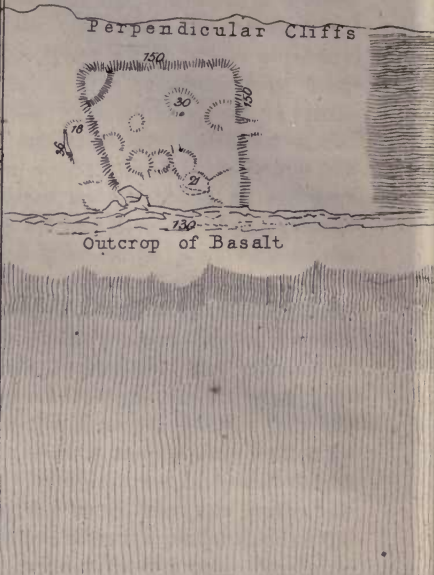
GUNNAR CAMP

(West)



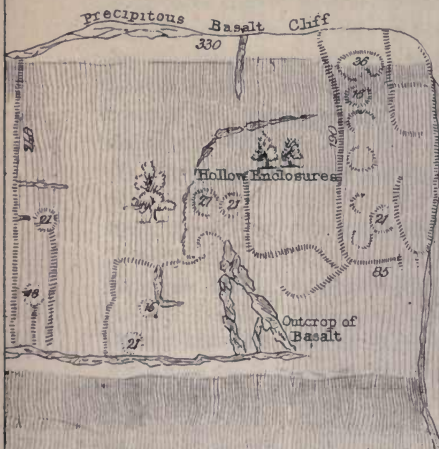
GUNNAR CAMP

(Middle)



GUNNAR CAMP

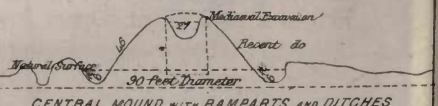
(East)



GUNNERTON
MONEY HILL FORT



SECTION



CENTRAL MOUND WITH RAMPARTS AND DITCHES

outline, and large blocks of the native basalt have been piled up into cyclopean walls of unusual massiveness. In extent it is over an acre, with three hut-circles within, and there are other enclosures without the camp on the brow of the Gunnar Heugh. Traversing the crags eastwards, we arrive at a third example in this important series of ancient forts. Like the first, a much larger space than bears vestiges of primitive occupation has been bounded by rampart walls following the verge of the precipice and one of the passes on two sides. A peculiarity in this enclosure—containing about two acres—is observable in detached fortlets, so to speak. Two of these approach the form of an oblong rectangle; whilst a third is nearly circular, and a fourth square. They are grouped along the eastern and southern faces of the entire enclosed camp; an outcrop of the whin having been made available for the rampart to the south. In each of the inner fortlets are several hut-circles of the usual dimensions, from 27 to 15 feet in diameter, with two oval dwellings. A few inner lines may be of later date, though even these seem to be anomalous only through conformity to the up-burst of the igneous rock. In all these examples the native whinstone has furnished the primitive builders with materials for ramparts and hut-circles alike; whilst the common freestone is invariably met with in the Birtley group. No vestige of ditch or fosse occurs in the three Gunnar forts, a fact easily to be explained, however, by their position on the impregnable crags, and on account, also, of the impervious nature of the basaltic surface, which no doubt set at defiance the rude tools of the ancient, as it still defies the well-tempered implements of the modern artificer.

A few isolated camps in the neighbourhood of Swinburne, and on both sides of the Watling Street—as at Rever Crag, Oxhill, Camp Hill, or Pity Me, and Blue Crag (the last being a large and strong fortress, with twelve hut-circles distinctly traceable)—have been casually noticed by Mr. MacLauchlan in his valuable Survey.² These may have been used as “redoubts or exploratory forts” by the Romans; but the greater part bear evidence of British rather than “Roman construction.” Besides those already mentioned, tradition and local names preserve the remembrance of several ancient forts, where scarcely a vestige is now visible; among which may be mentioned Rochester (Rutchester on Camden’s Map of 1609) and Carmogon on the Chipchase Castle estate; with Cowdon farther north, and still nearer to Habitancum (which occupies the north-east corner of the district under consideration), the Steele, and Broomhope. At the last named spot the “Camp-hill” is a wedge-like promontory, defended on each side and towards the Rede by natural precipices, and approached by a spiral ascent like that of Old Sarum hill-fort in miniature.

² Memoir on A Survey of the Watling Street, Durham and Northumberland, pp. 251.

Such are the most important remains of the aboriginal occupation in fortified settlements. Vestiges of primitive dwellings, hut-circles, and enclosures not entrenched exist in various parts of the district; as near the Mill Knock Camp on the opposite side of the ravine southwards, where there is also an ancient road or hollow-way; below the Carry House Camp; and near the Buteland Camp, in a field called Black Buteland. The farmers pronounce these remains not to be the so-called "sheep-stells" or circular folds, but more ancient dwellings of the earlier dales-folk; and they may have been outlying abodes of primitive pastoral tribes in times of comparative peace and safety.

TERRACE CULTIVATION. The next class of ancient vestiges presents itself in the numerous terrace-lines occurring on the upland slopes of the valley near Birtley and Barrasford. They are found chiefly in close proximity to the northern groups of camps, on the limestone escarpment above the Steele farm house, on the southern face of the Buteland ridge near High Shield Green; and, which is by far the finest example in Western Northumberland, on another limestone escarpment, between the Carry House and West Farm Camps, but more elevated in site. A series of terrace-lines also occur in Swinburne Park. One out of many theories to account for these remarkable earthworks is that their singular conformation of broad parallel lines or gradations of ascent is owing to the abrading force and gradual subsidence of primeval seas in the geological periods acting on the peculiar conformation of the strata. If the Swinburne terraces be conceded as formed by natural causes, though this is more than doubtful when the very numerous adjoining settlements are considered, the other examples cannot be explained by this theory. A more probable supposition is that such terraces are ancient lines of entrenchment, and the Birtley Shields series is marked as such in the Ordnance Survey. This example consists of six or seven terraces from six to ten feet high, and varying from eighteen to twenty-seven feet in breadth. The lines follow the face of the escarpment as it bends nearly at right angles, the south-west front being about 170, and the north-west face about 500 yards in length. The objections to this theory are, that the terraces lessen by degrees in the more extended front until they become useless as entrenchments through at least one-half of their length, being only from 12 to 18 inches high, and that they coincide at last with the level ground; that the inosculation of the lines in both fronts are apparent, destroying their exact parallelism; and that Lieut. Sitwell pointed out an inclined approach at the junction of the terraces, which is unusual in earthworks for military purposes. The remaining explanation

appears to be correct—assigning them as examples of the terrace-cultivation of the aboriginal tribes. The only reason to be alleged against this conclusion is the fact that both the Swinburne and the larger front of the Birtley Shields terraces face towards the north-west, a point of the compass which the Rev. H. Taylor, a competent authority, assures me would be carefully avoided by practical agriculturists of the present day. This objection would not hold in the case of the Buteland series, which consists of seven or eight lines from five to seven feet high and proportionately broad, and is artificially formed on the southern slope of the ridge, directly fronting the mid-day sun. The Steele terraces, again facing the west, would receive the afternoon rays throughout their single front, which is of considerable extent. Besides, at Heathpool, high up on the slopes of the College valley, are similar terraces facing the north, which are generally allowed to be British culture-lines; and such also occur, Mr. Greenwell informs me, in the Craven district, which, like three out of the four in the Birtley district, bear no resemblance to entrenchments. With a race, living chiefly upon milk and flesh, as Cæsar describes in speaking of the inland people of Britain, and whose tillage at best was on a limited scale, a suitable site for the construction of these terraces might counterbalance other defects in position. The known fertility of soil on the limestone formation with its iron oxides, two-thirds of the largest series of terraces being receptive also of the sunshine, and the rest scarcely shadowed by the platform alone; and the knowledge that even the Birtley Shields lines have been under cultivation within memory, leave scarcely a doubt on the mind that we have here the representative sites of the cereal cultivation of the ancient tribes who inhabited the closely-adjoining *caerau* or fortified dwellings.

IRONSTONE WORKINGS, DELVES, AND SCORIA. The third class of primitive remains, the ironstone delves and heaps of slag, indicative of the rudest smelting apparatus, is of more doubtful antiquity, although they may probably be referred, for the most part, to the Romano-British period. Beneath the limestone escarpment near the Steele farm-house—whence the name is derived—are innumerable delves, or rounded shallow pits, stretching for several hundred yards above the terrace-lines, where a great mound or hill of iron scoria occurs. The native iron is found in nodules near the surface, and so rich is it in quality, that the site appears to have been worked in all ages. Perhaps the later Britons used this valuable deposit for the construction of their long and broad, but rudely-tempered swords. Nor could it long escape the vigilant observation of their Roman conquerors,

for it is situated in immediate proximity to Habitaneum and the Watling Street. Other iron-workers may have followed in their steps in mediæval times, like Sir William Armstrong, who is obtaining the ore on the same site at the present day. Another great limestone escarpment, bending round from Pitland Hill—hence so called—for the distance of a mile and a half from the Mill Knock Camp and the Birtley Shields terraces, is indented in its entire length with these ancient delves. A hollow way, plainly artificial, has led down from the vicinity of the West Farm Camp to several immense heaps of scoria, termed the “Cinder Kiln Hills.” Hundreds of tons of iron ore must have been smelted in this secluded woodland glade. There is little doubt, from a fragment of pottery, the bottom of a small vessel, found on the surface of one slag heap, that mediæval metal-workers—probably from the village of Barrasford, which is traditionally said to have been noted for the manufacture of armoury in the middle ages—have here exercised their craft; though the entire oxidisation into a red powder of much of the scoria in the adjoining heaps indicates the labours of earlier artificers. A hollowed contrivance to promote a blast is yet visible; and lime to be used as a flux, with abundance of wood for charcoal, was near at hand. On various other sites, as on the Warkshaugh Farm, similar but smaller deposits of iron-slag, and also of charcoal, are met with. But there has as yet been no discovery of coins or other relics, as in the Sussex slag-heaps, to prove their Romano-British origin; only, perhaps, because no attempt at exploration has hitherto been made. Sir John Lubbock remarks in his recent very valuable work :³—“When the armies of Rome brought the civilisation of the South into contact with that of the North, they found the value of iron already known to their new enemies; the excellence of whose weapons indicated very considerable progress in the art of metallurgy.”

STANDING STONES. A fourth class of undoubtedly early remains is found in two or three huge upright stones with legendary associations. One of these primitive and so-called Druidical monuments is an immense mass of freestone, severed, apparently by natural forces, at some far distant era, from the adjoining cliff in the ravine to the south of the Mill Knock Camp. It is within a hundred yards from the fort, stands about twelve feet high above ground, weighs several tons, and closely adjoins to the chalybeate spring called the Birtley Holy Well, which issues from the perpendicular rock beneath a picturesque linn or water-fall. As the cromlech is commonly termed a devil's table in France and Ireland, so this great stone is popu-

³ “Prehistoric Times,” ch. i., p. 7.

larly known as the devil's rock, from a wild tradition, unique, I believe, in the annals of demonology, in respect of its tragical catastrophe. The legend tells of a Satanic personage leaping from its summit, where the marks of his footsteps are still visible, it is said; and falling short of his aim to reach the opposite bank of the river, a mile distant, he plunged headlong into the Leap Crag Pool, the deepest abyss in the whole course of the North Tyne. Like the herd of swine of the ancient Cadarenes, when possessed by the demoniac legion, tradition averreth that he was drowned. Another remarkable stone-pillar, a *peulvan*, or *ménhir*, eleven feet high, three feet and a half broad, and about two feet in thickness, spreading out at the top like an open fan or human hand, stands near the southern boundary of the Swinburne Park, and not far from several tumuli and the terrace-lines. The deeply furrowed indentations, worn by falling rains through many ages, prove a hoary antiquity for this singular stone. Whether it marks the site of an ancient interment, after some important battle,⁴ or has formed one in a series of monuments, like the three of similar dimensions near Matfen, has not been ascertained. The field in which it occurs is called from it the "Standing Stone Field" at the present day. In a close near the Barrasford School, a third example, a huge block of the native basalt, may yet be seen. This stone was blasted a few years since by gunpowder, and it now lies in an inclined position, and is about six feet in length. Within the memory of the Rev. C. Bird, the venerable vicar of Choller-ton, two or three standing stones occupied this site, which is a level space almost in the centre of a kind of natural amphitheatre. But the too-eager encroachments of modern agriculture have caused the destruction and removal of all but this solitary memorial. Mr. Bird informs me that, beneath the stone, fragments of bones and charcoal have been found in digging, which would imply an ancient interment. It is popularly believed that the series of stones which once stood here were located on the spot, through a duel between two ancient giants, who from their respective stations on the heights east and west of the river hurled these Titanic missiles at each other, which clashed and fell midway—a legend closely resembling that of Brittany, which terms such great stones the quoits or *palets de Gargantua*. "Long after the people who raised them had passed away," remarks Mr. Wright⁵—by no means a credulous authority—"and when their meaning or the object for which

⁴ Compare 1 Sam. XV. 12, where Saul's "place" or monument after his victory is the Hebrew, *yad*, and LXX, *χείρα*, literally, *a hand*, from the representation of a large hand, the symbol of power, being set on a stone pillar.

⁵ The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon, p. 62.

they were erected were alike forgotten, these monuments of stone continued to be regarded by the peasantry with reverence, which, combined with a certain degree of mysterious fear, degenerated into a sort of superstitious worship. In this feeling originated legends connected with them, and the popular names which are often found attached to them."

SEPULCHRAL BARROWS OR TUMULI. The last class of these primitive vestiges which remains to be noticed is found in the numerous burial-barrows, tumuli, or *carneddau*. Perhaps even the most remarkable example, in the North of England, may be seen near the village of Gunnarton, placed on an elevated head-land or platform above the junction of two concurrent streams. It is an immense conical mound of earth, about 30 feet high, and 100 yards in circuit at the base, with a fosse of great breadth and depth surrounding it. Another fosse or ditch of equal depth, with a high rampart of earth on either side passes, as it were, to isolate and defend the approach to the great barrow, diagonally across the level space to the north between the ravines. It is difficult to say whether this great earth work was raised for purposes of interment only; for an exploratory mound, as it occupies high ground; or for a session place or *crug*, used in the law gatherings and other Druid ceremonies. The adjoining outer fosse has the appearance of a hollow way, and leads across the ford of the larger stream towards the neighbouring settlements of the aborigines on the Gunnar Heights and Camp Hill or Pity Me. This favours the idea that all these purposes may have been combined. An attempt has been made, probably about a century since, to dig into this Gunnerton Money Hill, as it is called from a tradition of a dragon or other unearthly monster guarding a central hoard of treasure. This is precisely similar to several legends from the old Scandinavian Sagas recorded by Dr. Charlton.⁶ The excavators could not say with Grettir the Strong,

"The hope of spoil
Failed not in the cairn,"

if the rest of the tradition be true that they were ignominiously dispersed by the "cairn-dweller." So large is the excavation, however, that the mound might easily be explored; and under Mr. Greenwell's experienced direction, who promises shortly to give his aid, much may be done to elucidate the original purpose of this interesting barrow.⁷

⁶ The Runic Inscriptions of Maeshow.—Archæol. Æliana, vol. vi.

⁷ In April last the "Money Hill" was carefully and completely opened. In two days' digging, no trace of an ancient interment was noticed. A fragment of a mediæval drinking-vessel, of which the pottery decided its comparatively late date,

By permission of the Duke of Northumberland, several tumuli, forming part of an ancient cemetery near the High Shield Green Camp, were lately opened. The result was not very satisfactory, as only a few small fragments of calcined bones and charcoal, with abundance of stones reddened by fire, and a circlet of upright stones about two feet high beneath one of the barrows, were noticed. "Dan's Cairn," the largest, had evidently been opened long before, and the stones led away, as from a quarry, to form adjoining fence-walls. Some of these mounds may be "sow-kilns," as the heaps of burnt turf are locally called. But they are placed in the *midst* of ground under tillage at a remote date, and they have been all carefully avoided by the plough. Numerous solitary tumuli or cairns occur elsewhere in the district, respecting which the tradition is that they are the burial-place of ancient warriors. These "currachs" of stones have been opened in a few cases, but unfortunately no relics have been preserved. A large barrow was explored many years since by Mr. Thompson on his farm at Barrasford Green. Five large cists, from four to six feet in length, were discovered, each with an enclosed urn, apparently not containing any bones. One urn—the most carefully scored, and entire—was saved, and is now in the museum at Alnwick Castle. Another family-barrow, as it may be considered, has been excavated a fortnight since by Hunter Allgood, Esq., of Nunwick, in a field on his Warkshaugh farm. This very interesting tumulus was first known to be such through the accidental discovery in ploughing of a large urn, inverted, and surrounded by small protecting slabs. The urn was of a squat form, scored around the rim with well-defined incisions and cord-lines. It was 17 inches in diameter and 13 inches high. The site is unusually low, being near the river, and, before the embankment was made, beneath its level in high floods. From the humidity of the soil the urn fell to pieces, but not before Mr. MacLauchlan had taken a sketch and dimensions. Mr. Snowball, the tenant-farmer, observed a large stone slab near to it eastwards, which, with two similar slabs, formed a pavement between the urn and a cist of massive construction, containing no trace of interment except a quantity of dark unctuous matter, with a few small fragments of bones and charcoal. Further excavations have disclosed on the south and east sides of the barrow two

was found several feet beneath the surface of the early excavation—a relic, no doubt, of the former explorers. This negative result does not altogether militate against the supposition of the mound's sepulchral character. For many of the largest and probably earliest barrows have yielded no vestiges of human interment, which the lapse of thousands of years could not fail utterly to destroy, when no primitive cist enclosed the body laid, without cremation, to its final rest. But Mr. Greenwell inclines to the opinion, which a first view could suggest, that this singular combination of earth-works formed, like a Maori *pah*, one defensive fort of the ancient inhabitants, the great central mound representing the donjon or keep of a Norman Castle, the palisaded summit, which would be the last resort of the defenders.

additional *cistveini* and one urn. And some time afterwards the original central cist, on a higher relative position, was found without any enclosed remains. The sunny sides of this family-burial place seem alone to have been used, in accordance with an intuitive feeling which yet exists amongst ourselves, and partly in connection with the sun-worship of the Ancient Britons. The cists, each about three feet long by one and a half wide, in every case were filled with river sand, and from the porous nature of the subsoil, mere fluvial sand drift, the unburnt bodies have almost entirely disappeared. In the eastern cist an urn of graceful form and scoring, but unfortunately broken to pieces by the falling in of a side slab long since, was found. It did not contain any calcined bones, as in the first example, but only some dark-coloured dust, probably of corn, intended for the use, or to propitiate the *manes*, according to the usual Pagan idea, of the departed chief. A flint knife or scraper, with some chippings of stone, was also found in this cist, besides flakes of flint around and above the barrow. The bottom and side of the urn from the eastern cist remain to determine its contour and size. The clay of which the pottery is formed is studded with glittering specks of mica; and it appears to have been baked in the north-east of the barrow where a number of stones, reddened by fire, may be seen. It has been mentioned that a kist-vaen with urn was discovered on the very unusual site of the Old Carry House Camp in draining the inner space; another was found in a field beneath it; and a third near Chipchase Mill. All these—with two so-called incense-cups, described as “salt-cellars” and used as such by the labourer who found them in draining a marsh near Robin Hood’s Well (close to the North Tyne, below the Cinder Kiln Hills)—have been lost or destroyed. I have made many inquiries in vain respecting them. One instance of a Saxon burial on a British burial-barrow of much earlier date has recently been made out very satisfactorily. The tumulus or cairn of stones stood on a lofty escarpment above the Barrasford Burn, which was excavated in making the railway cutting near the station. The relics were very numerous, and remained in the possession of Mr. White, the station-master, until they were purchased by Mr. MacLauchlan in the autumn of last year. They were taken by him to London, and Mr. Albert Way and Mr. Franks (of the British Museum) agree in considering the projecting part of the boss or *umbo* of the shield to be of extraordinary dimensions. Several circular discs of silver, found with it, had served in part to cover the rivet-heads which attached the boss to the wooden shield. Some of these thin discs, which varied in size, had probably formed ornaments of the shield. A broad two edged sword of the same period—early Anglo-Saxon—was also found; but only fragments were saved.

The urn, from the character of the pottery, of which the bottom and part of the side remained, was pronounced to be not Saxon, but British; and the "find" may be deemed of particular interest because so little of their class has occurred in Northumberland. Some follower of the renowned Henegist or Horsa (be they Vikings, or only Viking's battle-standards), himself a chief of note, may have fallen here in battle, and been interred upon the site of the more ancient British hero's burial.

The traditional sites of battles in the district, I may add, are at the Broomhope Camp-hill and Buteland Common; near the Countess Park Camp; on the Birtley Shields terraces (which the popular memory associates both with the encampment of an army, in the "troublesome times," supposed to refer to Edward III.'s first campaign against the Scots in 1327, and with "rig and reen" culture); and at the Cattrean Greaves' head, near Birtley village.

GENERAL REMARKS. It may be perceived from this description of the ancient vestiges found in a district hitherto little known, that these remains are singularly numerous and varied in character. They may tend, perhaps, to cast some few rays of light upon the social life of a far-distant period in Northumbrian history. Yet it cannot be doubted that until there shall be a more extended and systematic observation, as at Greaves Ash and Yeavinger Bell, of the early vestiges in other parts of the country, and a more careful comparison of their peculiarities by the different observers, much that would be of general and scientific interest must remain unelucidated. With respect to the fortified and domestic dwellings of the race (no doubt Celtic, and, from the local names, both of the earlier and later immigrations), which has left so many remains in the limited district around Birtley and Barrasford, it may be possible with further data to separate them into something like a chronological series, as Mr. Albert Way has suggested to me. The constructive peculiarities of some of the camps, without special regard to size or form, should be noticed; for instance, those having massive inner or projecting ramparts, and whose walls are really "Pelasgic structures," from their greater strength, may indicate the settlements of an earlier and more turbulent period. The Rev. Wm. Barnes thinks that the hill-forts of the Ancient Britons were of earlier date than their lowland fastnesses.⁶ Further diggings, and the discovery of such remains as sunbaked pottery, and weapons, or tools, as they may be, of flint or metal, would be of great service. A small celt of hard greenstone, which is now presented to our Museum by Mr. Lamb, was found in a bog on the Shaw Farm, near Bellingham. I am informed

⁶ Notes on Ancient Britain, p. 93.

also that a bronze celt was discovered a few years since in a camp at Conshields, near Wark. Excavations within the Countess Park Camp would probably be as amply rewarded as were those at Greaves Ash, near Linhope. In some parts of its ramparts and hut-circles three courses of the unhewn masonry are visible above ground. The exuberant growth of underwood and marshy plants has been checked, and the approach made more accessible by direction of the noble proprietor, our patron, the Duke of Northumberland, who has the satisfaction of being also the owner of the sites, with scarcely a single exception, of the remarkable vestiges described in this memoir. The Park *caer* resembles in many respects the town of Cassivellaunus,⁹ which Caesar tells us (as Strabo and Diodorus Siculus also describe the British towns) was a place admirably fortified both by nature and men's labour in the midst of intricate woods and morasses, defended by a vallum and fosse, every approach to which could be effectually blocked up with fallen trees; and in which the Britons would find security for themselves and their cattle on the incursion of an enemy. It will be observed that, if numerous, as the accompanying map will show, the forts are of small dimensions compared with some in Northumberland and the South of England. They vary from three acres to half-an-acre in area. The internal domestic dwellings are similar, however, both in form and size. We have the rectangular, as well as the more usual round wattle-house, which are both carved as the abodes of a Gaul on the Antonine Column at Rome. A careful exploration of the two central hut-circles of the Park Camp, which may be dwellings of the Celtic Kinglet of the district, would, no doubt, give interesting results. Our usual notion of British dwellings, which Caesar says were very like those of the Gauls, is that there was a foundation-work of unhewn stones, on which or against which was raised a circular wall of wattled stakes, surmounted by a high-peaked roof of thatch—such as our Venerable Bede describes as the inn of a benighted Briton, of the seventh century, who was travelling homeward with some of the holy dust from the grave of the saintly King Oswald at Macerfield.¹⁰ As the conservating presence of water exists around the hut-circles of the Park Camp—the whole inner area being a marsh, except in the height of summer—some fragments of the original walls and roof might be recovered, which, I believe, has not as yet been done in any known British dwelling of the prehistoric age.

Different phases of the aboriginal social life have been passed in review in the preceding survey. There is evidence of a condition of chronic warfare in the number of strongholds, which closely resembles the paha

⁹ De Bell. Gall., lib. V. c. 21.

¹⁰ Eccles. Hist. c. x.

of the Maoris of New Zealand, or, as Professor Wilson thinks, a still more appropriate comparison, the present state of the North American Indians.¹¹ The various septs may have occasionally united for common safety; for the Birtley group of forts are, as it were, a connected series, the occupants being able to see and convey signals to each other. The same holds good of the Gunnar group. Their terrace culture again proves that they had emerged from the lowest condition of savages dependent only upon the casual produce of the chase or the bounty of nature in her primeval forests. Numerous querns or hand-mills have been found in or near the camps, which are probably of ancient construction, (though they may have been used until even recent times), for grinding the corn grown on these "baulks" or terraces. Dr. Bruce mentions instances of this mode of culture at Boreovicus, on the banks of Rede Water, and at Old Carlisle.¹² It is found, also, on the banks of the Rhine, in Provence, in Italy, in Palestine, and in China. We have, also, seen these early vale-dwellers, at least in the Romano-British period, accustomed to work in iron, so plentifully distributed over this district. The flint knife in the Warkshaugh cist speaks, indeed, of a more primitive age, perhaps, when the aborigines were emerging from the rude life of the stone age into that of bronze, some centuries before the Roman conquest or even before the Christian era. Further, in observing the great stone monuments with their grotesque legends, and knowing that they are near to medicinal and noted wells, we are forcibly reminded of the ecclesiastical laws of Canute directed against the worship of such monuments and sacred springs. We obtain a glimpse of the olden Pagan superstitions in contemplating these enduring memorials of their religious veneration; and feel disposed to admit that they are in truth, if not remnants of the British temple-circles, at least

"Stones of power
By Druids raised in magic hour."

And, then, in viewing the opened burial-barrow, not without feelings of reverence, we discern the hallowed promptings of filial and tribal affection for those who were beloved and lamented in long-forgotten days. Here they were laid with all honour, after a peaceful ending or a death in manful fight, in their "long home," and rested with their fathers and kindred in the solitary cairn or family burial place, on which the sun, the symbol, it may be, of a brighter luminary to them, might never cease, as they hoped, to shine.

¹¹ Prehistoric Man, Vol. i., p. 6.

¹² The Roman Wall, 2nd edition, p. 192. Compare Columella, *De Re Rustica*, lib. ii. cap. 2; Palladius, lib. i. cap. 5; and Dean Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, 3rd edit. p. 138.

MONTHLY MEETING, 1 MARCH, 1864.

The Right Hon. Lord Ravensworth, President, in the Chair.

DONATIONS OF BOOKS.—*From Publishing Societies.* Report of the Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1863-4. On the Early History of Leeds, by Thomas Wright, read before the Philosophical and Literary Society of Leeds. Annual Report of the same Society, 1863-4. Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society, July, 1864. — *By Lord Ravensworth.* Carmina Latina, partim nova, partim e lingua Britannica expressa, Auctore Henrico Thoma, Barone de Ravensworth, 1865.

MINING RECORDS.—A request having been received from the Mining Record Office, Museum of Practical Geology, permission to have copies made of the Colliery Plans deposited with the Society by Dixon Dixon, Esq., the application is granted.

ENGLISH COINS.—*The Chairman* exhibits a few coins preserved at Ravensworth Castle. Among them are two nobles of Edward III., and a groat of Henry VI., reading on the obverse:—(*cross patonce* mm.) HENRIC' (*leaf*) DI (*leaf*) GRA (*leaf*) REX (*trefoil*) ANGL (*small quatrefoil*) & (*small quatrefoil*) FRANC. The reverse reads:—(*plain cross*) POSVI—DEVM (*small quatrefoil*)—ADIVTOR—E' (*small quatrefoil*) MEVM—CIVI—TAS—(*leaf*) LON—DON (*trefoil*.) Those acquainted with the exertions of the Irish numismatists to raise the study of the English coinage to a science will understand the motive of this minuteness of description.

THE LATE PATRON OF THE SOCIETY.

ADDRESS TO HER GRACE ELEANOR, DUCHESS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

"We, the Fellows of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle, beg leave to approach your Grace with an expression of profound sympathy, and with hearts penetrated with sorrow for the great and irreparable loss which this society has sustained by the decease of the illustrious Duke, your Grace's lamented husband, and [late patron to this Society.

"We desire to record our humble testimony of the innumerable blessings and benefits conferred upon all classes of society by the generous disposition and discriminating judgment of that noble Duke. His abilities, research, and munificence have largely added to the reputation and contributed to the welfare of this Society, and the grief we feel for his loss is in proportion to the extent of his public services and private virtues."

MONTHLY MEETING, 5 APRIL, 1865.

Rev. E. Hussey Adamson in the Chair.

HONORARY MEMBER ELECTED.—*The Duca di Brolo*, Secretary of the Royal Society of Belles Lettres.

THE LATE PATRON OF THE SOCIETY.—The answer of the Duchess of Northumberland to the foregoing address is read.

BOOK ORDERED.—North's Chronicle of the Church of S. Martin, in Leicester.

MONTHLY MEETING, 3 MAY, 1865.

Martin Dunn, Esq., in the Chair.

GAINFORD.—*The Rev. J. Edleston* presents two photograms of a Roman inscription lately disclosed in alterations in Gainford Church. The dedication is to Jupiter Dolichenus. Declines to remove the antiquities discovered in the repairs of the church from their locale.

ROMAN WAY ACROSS WARK'S FORD.

AN EXTRACT FROM THE NOTE-BOOK OF THE REV. G. R. HALL.

"MR. THOS. ROBSON, Low Shield Green (the Duke of Northumberland's bailiff), tells me there is a "drove" or "drift" road of ancient date, and now much obliterated, passing across Wark ford, and leading, as he believes, from Carlisle to Morpeth.

"At different times he has noticed it when in the hunting field, and in his country rides. Near Birtley village it may be distinctly traced eastwards towards Pitland Hills, where the original construction of this "made road" can be easily perceived. In draining, &c., the stones forming it have often been noticed. Mr. Robson has observed the ancient way at the following points:—

Carraw, on the Roman Wall, where it joins the Military Way.
Goatstones, 2 miles N.W. from Simonburn crosses Ward Lane.
Morrilee Fell, between High and Low Morrilee.

Wark's Ford across North Tyne.

Wark's Haugh Bank, a little to N.

Birtley Village, in N. "Cows Grasses" and Stile on Buteland Road.

Pitland Hills Cottage, a little to S.

Tone Hall, somewhat to S.

Watling Street, which it now apparently crosses.

"Thence on the Whiteside ground, N. of Carey Coates Hall, on N. side of Sweethope Lough from W., and near Hawick, a little to N. it may be faintly traced, if it be the same line of way.

"Did the road continue in an E. direction towards Morpeth, passing near Thockrington, down the valley of the Wansbeck?"

"Was it a Roman line of way? From the following considerations it seems probable that the road is of Roman origin:—

1. "The Shepherd at Pitland Hills had told me of a traditional way through the ancient forest before the Norman Conquest, passing from Birtley to the Watling Street.

2. "A *Roman* altar was found at the foot of the Wark Mote Hill, close to the ford, which is now in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne. The late Mr. Ridley of Park End had seen the altar about 70 years since, lying near the School-house.

3. A "drift" or "drove" road for cattle, not made with stones, is preferred by drovers. Morpeth market, also, was not discontinued till about 25 years ago (if the road is supposed to have gone so far); and this road was disused long before that time. The Roman way of the old Watling Street between Rochester and Pennymuir, now overgrown with grass, is still used as a drove road for cattle. Mr. Allgood, of Nunwick, tells me that he has often noticed this ancient road on the western bank of the North Tyne, and adds that large stones, composing it, are visible below Goatstones.

4. "This road, if of Roman construction, would afford ready access to the legionaries posted at Procolitia or Borcovicus to the Watling Street, and the stations of Habitancum and Rochester, and *vice versa*. If it went beyond Watling Street eastwards it would meet or intersect in a similar manner the Devil's Causeway before reaching Morpeth. Its course beyond Watling Street seems somewhat doubtful, however.

"There is a great saving in distance by taking the line of this ancient way.

"To follow the Military Way on the Wall from Carraw to Stagshaw-bank "Portgate," and thence by the W. Street to Woodburn is about 22 miles. The road across Wark's Ford is—Carraw to Wark $4\frac{1}{2}$, Wark to Tone $4\frac{1}{2}$, and Tone to Habitancum 4 miles—not more than 13 miles in all—a clear gain of 9 miles, nearly one half the distance otherwise

traversed. The lines of Roman roads meeting at Carraw, Portgate, and Tone, as angles, would form nearly an equilateral triangle.

"I have noticed some portions of this new Roman way, between Birtley and Pitland Hill, where what seem to be *curbstones* line the paved road here and there on one side."

THE COINS OF THE DANISH KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

BY THE REV. D. H. HAIGH.

THE accompanying plates were intended to form part of a work, which was commenced more than twenty years ago, but interrupted by circumstances which I need not detail, and never completed. I never thought of writing about coins again, and gave these plates to the Society, in the hope that they would be printed and distributed amongst its members, who would then be enabled to study at their leisure the very interesting series of the Coins of the Kings of Northumberland, during the last century of its existence as an independent kingdom. It seems, however, that an illustrative text is expected from me; so I must endeavour to accomplish this task to the best of my ability, and begin by entering into a careful examination of the history of Northumberland during the period to which they belong. It is true that this has been already done by several eminent writers, but I see reason to differ from them occasionally on points of considerable importance.

In an enquiry such as this, the first consideration must be the value of the authorities to which we are indebted for our knowledge of the history; and, amongst these, of our English Chronicle first. Of this precious record we have six MSS.

A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, CLXXIII. This alone is a strictly contemporary narrative of the events of the period with which we are concerned. It is written in one hand to A.D. 891, and continued by a second, whose work was interrupted in the midst of A.D. 894; a third scribe takes up the pen and records, from time to time, the events of the ensuing thirty years; then a fourth from A.D. 925 to 965; and a fifth to A.D. 977. After this date the entries are only occasional, and very brief, until A.D. 1070. Its notices of Northumbrian affairs are few, but on these, such as they are, I place the greatest reliance.

B. Cotton. Tiberius, A. VI.; written in one hand of the tenth century to A.D. 977.

C. Cotton. Tiberius, B. I.; written in one hand to A.D. 1046, and continued by others.

D. Cotton. Tiberius, B. IV.; written in one hand to A.D. 1016, and continued by others. This contains the fullest notices of the events of Northumbrian history, and I regard it as second in value to MS. A.

E. Bodleian. Laud, 686; written in one hand to A.D. 1122, and continued by others.

F. Cotton. Domitian, A. VIII.; written in one hand of the twelfth century. It ends in A.D. 1056.

These two last have entries which are not in the others, and help to complete the history.

The Life of Ælfred, by Asser, coæval with the first scribe of MS. A, is also contemporary history, but contains very little that is not in the Chronicle.

Ethelwerd lived at the same time as the writer of MS. D; Simeon of Durham about a century later. Simeon ought to be an authority on Northumbrian affairs, and indeed has preserved to us much information which would otherwise have been lost; but he is frequently inaccurate. Of his contemporaries and successors I make very little use; there is nothing but confusion in their accounts of the Anlafs, and the source of this confusion will appear when we come to speak of them.

The Irish Annals afford invaluable aid in the study of this history. They enable us to trace the career of the Sitrics, Regnalds, and Anlafs, when they were not in Northumberland, and to identify the Anlafs clearly. Before I had an opportunity of consulting them, I was inclined to follow William of Malmsbury, in regarding the Anlaf of Brunanburh as the son of Sitric; in every other respect my conclusions, previously arrived at, are confirmed. Although not free from errors, (it would be too much to expect that they should), they appear to be generally very trustworthy. I shall quote them and the Chronicle at length, that my readers may have the opportunity of judging for themselves of the illustration they mutually afford, each to the other.

The chronology of the English Chronicle is generally a year too late, as appears from comparison with the French Annals from A.D. 879 to 891. That of the second and third scribes of MS. A was correct, but has been altered in every year.

The Annals of Ulster are generally two years earlier than our Chronicle; but the valuable criteria they afford in notices of eclipses, Easter, and days of the week coincident with days of the month, shew that they are one year earlier than the true chronology. Those of the Four Masters are sometimes one year earlier than these, sometimes more, and those of Clonmacnoise some years earlier still. In giving, therefore, the dates as they are in our Chronicle and these Annals, I shall add in

parenthesis what appears to be the true date. When I do not quote from these authorities, the dates which I give are those which I regard as the true dates.

None of our earlier authorities assigns any special motive for the Danish invasion of Northumberland, but we have four distinct traditions to account for it in later writings.

1. The Danish story, that Ragnar Lodbrog was shipwrecked on the Northumbrian coasts, taken captive by Ælle, and cruelly murdered.

2. Matthew of Westminster's, that Ragnar, driven by a storm to East Anglia, was murdered by Beorn, the huntsman of S. Eadmund, and that Beorn, sent out to sea in an open boat as a punishment for his crime, went to Denmark, and invited the sons of Ragnar to come and avenge the murder of their father, which he falsely imputed to his royal master.

3. Another, preserved by Gaimar, Douglas of Glastonbury, John of Bromton, and Hector Boece, that a certain ship master, named Buern, invited Codrinus (*i.e.* Godrum), King of the Danes, to invade Northumberland, in revenge for the dishonour of his wife by Osberht; and that his relatives deposed Osberht, and raised Ælle to the throne.

4. A similar story, in a MS. of the twelfth century, in which the names of Ærnulf and Ælle replace those of Buern and Osberht. Our Chronicle says, "there was much dissension among the people, and they had cast out their King Osbryht, and had taken to themselves an ignoble King Ælle."

It seems to me that each of these traditions may have preserved something of the truth. We observe that the first and second agree, as to the facts of Ragnar's shipwreck, and murder; the third and fourth, in imputing to a King of Northumberland the crime of adultery, and assigning it as the motive of the disaffection of his subjects; and the second and third, in the name of the person who invited the Danes. Thus, then, it may be true that Beorn instigated rebellion against Osberht for the crime alleged; that he assisted in raising Ælle to the throne, and entered his service; that Ragnar was put to death by Ælle's orders; and that Beorn afterwards quarrelled with Ælle, and invited the Danes to avenge his death. Or it may be true that Ælle outraged Beorn's wife, and that this was the cause of the quarrel. However this may be, it is certain that the Danes came to East-Anglia in A.D. 866. There was no personal hostility to S. Eadmund; the East-Angles made peace with them, and allowed them to winter in their country. Having provided themselves with horses, in

A.D. 867, they proceeded to Northumberland, and occupied York. The parties of Osberht and Ælle made peace, and "late in the year they resolved that they would fight against the army, and therefore they gathered a large force, and sought the army at the town of York, and

stormed the town, and some of them got within, and there was excessive slaughter of the Northumbrians, some [within, and some without, and the kings were both slain, and the remainder made peace with the army."

We have nothing more trustworthy than this statement, in our Chronicle, written within twenty-four years of the event, and by Asser (who supplies the fact that Osberht and Ælle made peace and attacked the Danes together¹), at the same time.

The Danes remained in Northumberland until the following year. Before their departure, they committed the government of the province north of the Tyne to Egberht, but nothing is said of the southern province. Certainly none of their leaders remained in Northumberland; and I believe they would adopt the same policy with regard to Deira, as they did with regard to Bernicia at this time, and to Mercia later; i.e. invest some thane or ealdorman with the title of king, to hold the kingdom as their tributary. The evidence of a coin, which I shall describe in the sequel, seems to confirm this, and to establish the probability, that their deputy in Deira during the following years was no other than the above named Beorn.

Florence of Worcester says, that the great Danish army which invaded England at this time was commanded by eight kings—Bagseeg, Halfdene, Ingwar, Ubba, Godrum, Oskitell, Amund, and Eowils; and all of these, except the last, appear occasionally in the story of their ravages in the Southumbrian provinces, during the following years. The Annals of Roskild say that Ingwar was accompanied by nine kings of the North, but this number must include Anlaf, who did not come with them into England, but joined them from Ireland, along with Eowils or Eowisl. Ingwar² and Ubba were sons of Ragnar, and Halfdene, according to our Chronicle, was Ingwar's brother.

¹ "Advenientibus Paganis, consilio divino et optimatum adminiculo pro communi utilitate, discordia illa aliquantulum sedata, Osbyrht et Ælla adunatis viribus, congregatoque exercitu, Eboracum oppidum adeunt."

² Ingwar had invaded France. His name does not occur in any extant Annals of the Franks, but Adam of Bremen read it in the "*Gesta Francorum*."

"Erant et alii reges Danorum vel Nortmannorum, qui piraticis excursionibus eo tempore Galliam vexabant. Quorum præcipui erant Horich, Orwig, Gotafrid, Rodulf et Ingvar tyranni. Crudelissimus omnium fuit Ingvar, filius Lodparchi, qui Christianos ubique per supplicia necavit. Scriptum est in gestis Francorum." *Gesta Pontif: Hammaburg: L. I., c. 30.*

Although the Northern Chronicles seem to distinguish Ingwar from Ivar, it appears very clear from ours, that they were one and the same person. In the Chronicle, under A.D. 878, the different MSS. give his name with these variations, Inwær A, Ingwær B, Inwer C, Iwær D, Iwer E. Ethelwerd calls the commander of the invading host Igwar, and the same person, in the account of S. Eadmund's death, Iuuar. One MS. of Gaimar calls him Inguar, Ingwar, or Yngvar, but all the others uniformly Iwar.

Of the chieftains whom Adam of Bremen names in the above-cited passage, Gozfrid, Roric, and Eriveus, (a Breton count), are named together, and for the first time, by Hincmar of Rheims, in 863; and Rodulf is noticed for the first time in 864. About that time, probably, Ingwar invaded France; he is mentioned in the Irish Annals in 863, and, three years later, he led the Danes to England.

A.D. 868, they left Northumberland, invaded Mercia, and occupied Nottingham. Burgred, King of Mercia, made peace with them, after an ineffectual attempt to dislodge them, in which he had the aid of the West-Saxon kings, Æthelred and Ælfred. Towards the end of the year they returned to Northumberland, and wintered at York.

A.D. 869, they crossed the Humber into Lindsey, destroyed the abbey of Bardney, were defeated by, and in turn defeated, the forces of the ealdorman Algar; destroyed the monasteries of Croyland and Peterborough, plundered Huntingdon, and destroyed Ely. Thence they proceeded to Thetford, and there took up their winter quarters. S. Eadmund, the King of the East-Angles, attacked them in November, but was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death.³ We know from the evidence of S. Eadmund's own sword-bearer, detailed by him to S. Dunstan, and afterwards repeated by the latter to Abbo of Fleury, that his murderer was Ingwar. He and Godrum are named as the commanders of the Danish forces in the second battle with Algar; Oskytel was the murderer of the Abbot of Croyland, and Ubba of the monks of Peterborough.

A.D. 870. They proceeded to Reading in Wessex. Æthelred and Ælfred fought with them at Reading, Ashdown, Basing, and Merton; and, after Æthelred's death, Ælfred continued the contest at Wilton, and other places (not named,) but at last was compelled to make peace with them. In this year the best MSS. of the Chronicle, for the first time, name their leaders; Bagsecg, killed in the battle of Ashdown, and Halfdene. They were largely reinforced after the battle of Merton; "there came to Reading a great summer army"; and the Annals of Inisfallen inform us whence this reinforcement came.

"A.D. 870. Plundering of Leinster, from Ath Cliath to Gabhrain, by Aodh mac Neill, after Amhlaoimh and Iomhair had gone, with a fleet of 200 ships, to assist the Danes of Britain, with their Danish leaders, Hingar and Hubba."

Olaf,⁴ said to have been a son of a king of Denmark, came to Ireland, with his brothers, Sitric and Ivar, and was accepted as king by all the foreigners there in 853; and he is noticed in the years 859, 861, 862, 863, and 869. Ivar (Ingwær or Inwær), the ancestor of the Danish

³ The Chronicle dates these events, A.D. 870. The life of S. Eadmund, cited by Florence of Worcester, supplies a criterion which fixes them to 869.

"Rex Eadmundus, ut in sua legitur passione, ab Inguaro rege paganissimo, Indictione II., XII. Cal. Decembris, die Dominico, martirizatus est."

⁴ For the sake of uniform orthography I adopt the Norse form of this name, except in quotations. Anlaf is the English form in the Chronicle and on coins; Amhlaoimh (with many variations), the Irish.

Kings of Dublin, is mentioned in 858, 859, and 863. In the last year Olaf, Ivar, and Uisli, are named together, as the three chieftains of the foreigners.

"A.D. 865, (866). Amlaiph and Anisle went to Fortren, together with the foreigners of Ireland and Scotland, and spoiled all the Picts, and brought all the hostages with them." (Ann: Ulster.)

Ivar is not mentioned with them on this occasion; it is probable that he had gone to France, between 863 and this date; and at this time he was the leader of the Danes in England. Probably also Olaf and Uisli remained in England, for the Annals of the Four Masters, (which seldom mention events that occurred out of Ireland), omit the notice, which by those of Ulster, of the death of Uisli by the hands of his brethren, is supplied in 867, immediately before the notice of the defeat and death of Aillil (Ælle), at York. In 869, however, the Four Masters record Olaf's burning Armagh, so that he had by that time returned to Ireland; and in 870, the Annals of Ulster have,

"Siege of Aile Cluith by the Northmen. Aulaiv and Ivar, the two Kings of the Northmen, besieged that fortress, and destroyed and plundered it at the end of four months."

I suppose that Ivar went to Ireland in 869 or 870, returned with Olaf to assist the Danes who were contending with Ælfred, and, after the conclusion of the war in Wessex, went into Scotland. Thence they returned to Ireland.

"A.D. 870 (871). Aulaiv and Ivar came again to Dublin out of Scotland, with great booty, and many captives of Angles, Britons, and Picts." (Ulster.)

"A.D. 871. Amhlaoimh and Iomhar came again to Dublin out of Albania. A great booty of men, *i.e.* Saxons and Britons, brought by them to Eri." (Inisfallen.)

Olaf is mentioned no more in the Irish Annals.

A.D. 871. The Danes retired to London.

A.D. 872. They wintered at Torksey, in Lincolnshire, and in

873, at Repton, in Mercia. In this year the Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters record the death of "Iomar, King of the Northmen of Ireland and Britain." Ethelwerd has disposed of him four years earlier, saying that he died in the same year as S. Eadmund. He probably died in England, for Gaimar says that he remained in London when Halfdene, Oskytel, and Godrum went northward.

I have followed their movements during these six years, in order to shew that none of their leaders could have remained in North-

umberland;⁵ and to establish the probability that Deira was under the government of an Angle, tributary to them, as Bernicia was. Simeon of Durham says that Ecgberht reigned beyond the Tyne for six years; but before these six years were completed, he records the expulsion of Ecgberht and of Archbishop Wulfhere, in A.D. 872; and then, without a word about his restoration in the following year, he says, "Ecgberht, the King of the Northumbrians, dying, had Ricsig for his successor, who reigned three years, and Wulfhere was restored to his archbishopric;" and again, "A.D. 876, Ricsig, King of the Northumbrians, dies, and a second Ecgberht reigns over the Northumbrians beyond the Tyne."

I suspect there was but one Ecgberht; that "moriens," under A.D. 873, is Simeon's conjecture;⁶ that Ricsig was raised to the throne by the Northumbrians, on Ecgberht's deposition; and that Ecgberht was restored by Halfdene on his return to Northumberland.

A.D. 874. The army, which had wintered at Repton, was divided; one division, under Godrum, Oskytel, and Anwynd, went to Cambridge; the other, under Halfdene, whom we may consider as having been the chief commander after Bagsecg's death, returned to Northumberland, and wintered on the Tyne.

A.D. 875. Halfdene divided the lands of Northumberland amongst his followers; and with this year the history of the Northumbrian Danish kingdom properly commences.

Our own chronicles afford no reliable information as to the length of Halfdene's reign, or the manner of his death.⁷ This, however, is supplied by the Irish Annals.

"A.D. 874 or 876 (877). Ruaidhri mac Mormind, King of the Britons, came into Ireland, to escape the Black Gentiles."

⁵ Turner supposes that Ivar remained in Northumberland, and thence invaded Scotland; overlooking the evidence of the Irish Annals that he and Olaf went from Ireland to England in 870, and returned to Ireland in 871.

⁶ Such conjectures the chroniclers of the Norman æra occasionally indulged in, and there would have been no harm in this, if they had given them as conjectures, but unfortunately they state them with all the gravity of history. Examples will occur in the sequel.

⁷ Simeon disposes of him at the battle of Cynwith in 878; but this is only one of his blunders, for all the MSS. of the Chronicle agree in saying that the chieftain who fell there was Ingwar's and Halfdene's brother (most probably Ubba). Florence says that Halfdene and Eowils reigned 26 years, meaning probably the sum of their reigns, but the cypher should be 36, for an Eowils was killed at the battle of Wednesfield, 36 years after Halfdene's return to Northumberland. With one exception, all the MSS. of the Chronicle say that Halfdene was killed in the same battle; but the exception is MS. A, the only one which can be regarded as contemporary. Ethelwerd says that Ingwar also fell in that battle, but no MS. of the Chronicle supports him, and I believe that he really died in 873.

"A battle between the White and Black Gentiles at Loch Cuan" (Strangford Lough), "wherein fell Albard King of the Black Gentiles." (F. M. & U.)

"A.D. 877 (878.) Roary son of Murmin, King of the Britons, killed by the Saxons." (Ulster).

Apparently Halfdene had invaded the territories of Rotri, pursued him to Ireland, and there met his fate. Rotri, returning to Wales, must have been slain by Saxons who were in league with the Danes; for the year of his fall was that in which fortune began to turn in Ælfred's favour, two years before he succeeded in delivering his dominions from the presence of the invaders; and the battle of Conwy, in which, according to the Annals of Cambria, Rotri's death was avenged, three years later, seems to correspond with Ælfred's engagement with a Danish squadron, recorded in our Chronicle under A.D. 882 (881).

Adam of Bremen says that the Northmen sent into England one of the companions of Halfdene, that he was killed by the Angles, that then the Danes raised Gudred to the throne in his place, and that he conquered Northumberland.⁸

Without any notice of Halfdene's immediate successor, Simeon of Durham says that, the army of Northumberland being deprived of a leader,⁹ the abbot Eadred, in obedience to a supernatural monition, persuaded them and the Angles to accept, as Halfdene's successor, Guthred the son of Hardeconut, who had been sold as a slave by the Danes to a widow at Whittingham; and that this Guthred reigned at York, and died A.D. 894. Ethelwerd calls him Guthfrid, and says that he died on the Feast of S. Bartholomew A.D. 896, four years before King Ælfred, and was buried in the Cathedral of York. I prefer his authority, not only as being earlier than Simeon, but as likely to have had precise information, since he is able to specify the day, as well as the year, and the place of sepulture. Adam of Bremen, who seems to mark A.D. 885 as the year of Guthred's accession, two years later than Simeon's date,

⁸ *Gesta Pont: Hammaburg: L. I., c. 33.* The passage must be quoted with its context, to shew the date of these events.

"Nordmanni plagam, quam in Frisiâ receperunt" (A.D. 884. cf: Ann: Fuld:) "in totum imperium ulturi, cum regibus Sigafrido et Gotafrido, per Rhenum et Mosam, et Scaldam fluvios Galliam invadentes, miserabili cæde Christianos obtruncarunt, ipsumque regem Karolum bello petentes, ludibrio nostros habuerunt." (A.D. 885. cf: Ann: Fuld: et Vedast.)

"In Angliam quoque miserunt unum ex sociis Halfdani, qui dum ab Anglis occideretur, Dani constituerunt in locum ejus Gudredum. Is autem Nordimbriam expugnavit. Atque ex illo tempore" (i.e. A.D. 885), "Frisia et Anglia in ditioe Danorum esse feruntur. Scriptum est in gestis Anglorum."

⁹ "Occiso, sicut supradictum est, ipso Halfdene et Inguar cum xxiii navibus apud Domnaniam a ministris Elfridi regis." This of course is Simeon's conjectural addition to his original authority, for the reference is to the blunder noticed above.

indirectly supports Ethelwerd's date for his death; and, though he writes the name Gudred, Ethelwerd is supported, in this particular, by Henry of Huntingdon, who says, "after Osbriet and Ella were slain by the Danes, the Danes reigned for a long time in Northumberland, viz: King Haldene, and Gudfert, and Nigel, and Sidrie, and Reginald, and Anlaf." Adam of Bremen says that his sons, who succeeded him, were Anlaf, Sihtric, and Regnald,¹⁰ and as the Irish Annals assert that these were grandsons of Ivar, it follows that Guthfrith was a son of Ivar, not of Hardecnut. As such he would be readily accepted by the Danes of Northumberland; and Adam of Bremen enables us to account for the fact that he had been sold to slavery, by informing us, that the sea-kings of the North frequently made war, one on another, and sold the captives whom they took in war, either to their own people or to foreigners.¹¹

Guthfrith seems to have manifested great zeal for the advancement of religion; he re-established the northern bishopric, and the community of monks, which had been driven from Lindisfarne eight years before, not indeed in their ancient home, but at Cuneca-ceastre (Chester-le-Street); and, in conjunction with Ælfred, he endowed the Church of S. Cuthbert with all the lands between the Tyne and the Tees, and conferred upon it the privilege of sanctuary.

There is no ancient authority for the statement, which is sometimes made, that Ælfred was Guthfrith's feudal superior, and that he exercised direct supremacy over Northumberland, after Guthfrith's death. An ally and adviser, in the important ecclesiastical regulations which Guthfrith effected, he certainly was, but no more. When the return of his old enemies from France, in 892, involved him in a fresh series of campaigns, the Northumbrians and East-Anglians pledged themselves to observe neutrality, so that he was no more sovereign of the former than he was of the latter; but that his relations with the Northumbrians were more intimate and friendly than they were with the East-Anglians appears from the fact that he exacted no hostages from them, but was satisfied with the security of their oaths alone.¹² The Chronicle claims for him no supremacy over Northumberland, but says "he was King over all the English nation, except that part which was under the dominion of the Danes," that is, East-Anglia, Northumberland, and a great part of Mercia.

¹⁰ L: II. c. 15. "Anglia, ut supra diximus, et in gestis Anglorum scribitur, post mortem Gudredi, a filiis ejus Analaph, Sigtrih, et Reginold, parmansit in ditione Danorum."

¹¹ L: IV: c: 6.

¹² Simeon contradicts the contemporary evidence of the Chronicle, saying that both nations gave hostages.

Their pledges were broken by the Danes of both kingdoms. "Contrary to their plighted troth, as often as the other armies went out with all their force, they also went out, either with them, or on their own part." Whilst Ælfred was pursuing the Danes whom he had defeated at Farnham in 893, their kindred "who dwelt with the Northumbrians and East-Angles, gathered some hundred ships, and went south about, and some forty ships north about, and besieged a fortress in Devonshire by the north sea, and they who went south about besieged Exeter. When the king heard that, he turned west towards Exeter with all the force, save a very powerful body of the people eastwards;—when he had arrived there they went to their ships. Whilst the king was thus busied with the army there in the west, and both the other armies had drawn together at Shoebury in Essex, then both together went up along the Thames, and a great addition came to them, as well from the East-Anglians as from the Northumbrians." Later in the year, when these armies returned to Essex, after their defeat at Buttington, "they gathered together a great army from amongst the East-Anglians and Northumbrians," and went to Chester. In the following year they escaped from Ælfred by going through Northumberland to East-Anglia; "and as the army, which had beset Exeter, again turned homewards, then spoiled they the South Saxons near Chichester, and the townsmen put them to flight, and slew many hundreds of them, and took some of their ships." After the unsuccessful campaign of A.D. 895, the following sentence concludes the history of this invasion.

"A.D. 897 (896). After this, in the summer of this year, the army broke up, some for East-Anglia, and some for Northumberland; and they who were feeless got themselves ships there, and went over sea southwards to the Seine.—That same year the armies from among the East-Anglians, and from among the Northumbrians, harassed the land of the West Saxons, by predatory bands, most of all by their long ships, which they had built many years before."

Thus, throughout this four years' struggle, the Northumbrian Danes were assisting the invaders. Whether Guthfrith himself took part in this war, we do not know; but Ethelwerd has preserved the name of the chieftain who commanded the fleet which invaded Devonshire in 893, 4;

"Sigferth, a pirate from the land of the Northumbrians, comes with a great fleet, ravages along the coasts twice in one season, afterwards sails to his own home;"

and this Sigferth appears to be mentioned in the Annals of Ulster, in the year preceding, as the rival of a son of Ivar, (therefore a brother of Guthfrith).

"A.D. 892 (893). A battle against the Black Gentiles by the Saxons, in which innumerable men were slain." (This was probably the battle of Farnham.) "Great dissension among the foreigners of Ath Cliath, so that they separated part of them with Mac Imhair," (apparently Sihtric), "the other part with Sichfrait the earl."

"A.D. 893 (894). Mac Imhair returns to Ireland."

The Annals of the Four Masters, as well as those of Ulster, record the death of this son of Ivar.

"A.D. 891 or 895, (896). Sitriuc mac Iomair slain by other Norsemen."

Sigeferth himself has been represented as a son of Ivar and a brother of Guthfrith, but I can find no ancient authority for this.¹³ Although a leader of the Northumbrian Danes during the last year of Guthfrith's reign, he appears to have been the opponent of Sihtric, another son of Ivar, and probably succeeded in destroying him in the very year of Guthfrith's death. The evidence of coins, to be cited in the sequel, proves that he actually succeeded to the throne of Northumberland.

His reign, I think, must have lasted four years, for in 900, the year of Ælfred's death, Ethelwerd says there were great dissensions between the Angles and the Danes in Northumberland;¹⁴ and in the same year we learn from the Chronicle, that Æthelwald, the son of Ælfred's elder brother Æthelred, refusing to acknowledge the authority of his cousin Eadweard, fled to Northumberland and was elected king by the Danes. He reigned four years. In 903 he invaded Essex, and in the following year was killed in Cambridgeshire, in conflict with the Kentish contingent of Eadweard's army, along with Eohric, King of the East-Angles, whom he had seduced from his allegiance to Eadweard. Amongst the nobles who fell in the same battle, the Chronicle

¹³ This mistake, I think, has arisen from confounding him with a more celebrated namesake, whose fall is thus recorded in the Annals of Ulster, eight years earlier:—

"A.D. 887 (888). Sigfirth mac Imair, King of the Northmen, was treacherously slain by his brother (Sigtryg);"

But this happened in Friesland,

"A.D. 887. Sigifredus—circa Autumni tempora Fresiam petiit, ibique interfectus est." (Ann: Vedast:)

This Sigifred was a leader of the army which went from England to France in 879. The Annals of S. Vedast, and of Fulda, relate his history, in 882, and the following years. (Some copies of the Annals of Ulster substitute the name of Godfred, who was slain in 885, for that of Sigifred.)

¹⁴ It is impossible to translate this passage as it stands, but I venture to correct it by inserting "et," and writing "fætidas" for "fætibus."

"Interea bis binis post annis, facta est discordia nimis et maxime, ex quo supradictus obierat rex, inter Anglos (et), quæ tunc manebant, loca per Northhymbriorum, fætidas turmas."

names Byrhtsig son of Beornoth the Ætheling. This is of course the Brehtsig, whose death Simeon records in 902.

In 901, Simeon says Osbrith was driven from the kingdom. He was probably a usurper who took advantage of Æthelwald's absence in 903.

Æthelwald's successor was probably Eowils (or Eowisl).¹⁵ He fell in the battle of Wednesfield, in 910.

The Annals of Ulster notice the death of "Etulpp King of the North Saxons" in 912 (913). This must be Eadulf of Bamborough, whose son Aldred afterwards submitted to Eadward, and whose monument, in fragments, has been found at Alnmouth. Of our chroniclers, Ethelwerd alone records his death in this year.

In the same year, the Annals of Ulster, and those of the Four Masters, record a "a victory gained by the foreigners over a fleet of Ulstermen in the borders of England."

Guthfrith's sons did not succeed to the throne on the death of their father. His successor was almost certainly a usurper, and exile for them would be the natural consequence of such usurpation. Their exile was spent in France; and a collation of our Chronicle with the Irish Annals renders it probable, that they and their followers were the feeless band who went from Northumberland to the Seine in 896, at the very time of Guthfrith's death. The Annals of Ulster record,

"A.D. 913 (914). A sea-fight at Manainn" (Man), between Barid mac Octin, and Ragnall va Iwar" (grandson of Ivar), "when Barid was destroyed with almost all his army."

"A great new fleet of foreigners came to Loch Dacave" (Waterford), and "placed a fortress there;"

and they, and the Four Masters, notice successive arrivals of foreigners at Waterford, in this and the following year and in 917. These were the details of a general migration of these Danes, unwilling to submit to Rollo's rule, from Bretagne to Ireland. The adventures of one fleet are related in our Chronicle, MS. A.¹⁶

"A.D. 918 (917). Here, in this year, a great fleet came over hither from the south from the Lidwiceas, and with it two earls, Ohter and Hrvald; and they went west about, till they arrived within the mouth of the Severn, and they spoiled the North-Welsh everywhere by the sea coast, where they then pleased. And in Ircingfield they took

¹⁵ Ethelwerd calls him Eyuuysl. It is apparently the same as Anisle or Uisli, the name of the Danish King who was killed in 867, and of a son of Sihtric who fell at Brunanburh.

¹⁶ MSS. C and D, followed by Florence of Worcester, date these events A.D. 915. I prefer of course the contemporary authority of MS. A.

Bishop Cameleac, and led him with them to their ships, and then King Eadweard ransomed him afterwards with forty pounds. Then, after that, the whole army landed, and would have gone once more to plunder about Ireingfield. Then the men of Hereford and Gloucester, and the nearest burghs, met them, and fought against them, and put them to flight, and slew the Earl Hroald, and the brother of Ohter, the other earl, and many of the army, and drove them into an enclosure, and there beset them about, until they gave hostages to them that they would depart from King Eadweard's realm. And the King had so ordered it that his forces sat down against them on the south side of Severn mouth, from the Welsh" (*i.e.* Cornish) "coast westward, to the mouth of the Avon eastward, so that on that side they durst not anywhere attempt to land. Then, nevertheless, they stole away by night, on some two occasions, one to the east of Watchet, and another time to Portlock. But they were beaten on either occasion, so that few of them got away, except those alone who there swam out to the ships. And then they sat down on the isle of Flatholm, until such time as they were quite destitute of food, and many men died of hunger, because they could not obtain any food. Then they went thence to South Wales, and then out to Ireland, and this was during harvest."

Florence of Westminster (A.D. 915) identifies these invaders with those who had left England nineteen years before.

In the very month in which they were compelled to abandon their enterprise in England, the Irish Annals detail circumstantially their proceedings in Ireland under the conduct of the grandsons of Ivar.

"A.D. 915 or 916 (917). Sitrioc ua Iomair, with his fleet, took up at Cind Fuait (Confey, co. Kildare), in the east of Leinster. Ragnall ua Iomair, with another fleet, went to the foreigners of Loch Dacae. The army of the Ui Neill, of the south and north, was led by Niall mac Aod, King of Ireland, to wage war with the foreigners. He pitched his camp at Tobar Gletrae, in Magh Femin, on the 22nd August. The foreigners went into the territory the same day. The Irish attacked them the third hour before noon, so that 1,100 men were slain between them, but more of the foreigners fell, and they were defeated. Reinforcements set out from the fortress of the foreigners, to relieve their people. The Irish returned to their camp before the last host, *i.e.* before Ragnall, King of the Black foreigners" (arrived), "who had an army of foreigners with him. Niall set out with a small force against the foreigners, so that God prevented their slaughter through him. Niall, after this, remained twenty nights, encamped against the foreigners. He requested of the Leinstermen to remain in siege against the foreigners" (this they did), "until Sitriucc ua Iomair, and the foreigners, gave the battle of Cinn Fuait to the Leinstermen, wherein 600 were slain about the lords of Leinster." (F.M. & U.)

* * * On the preceding page for Barid mac Octin and Ragnall va Iwar, read Barid mac Octir and Ragnall ua Iwair: for Dacave read Dacae: for Lidwiceas read Lidwiceas: and for Hrvald read Hroald.

"Sitric O'Hivar came to Dublin." (U.)

"The plundering of Cille Dara by the foreigners of Chinn Fuait." (F. M.)

"A.D. 916 (918). Oitir and the foreigners went from Loch Dacae to Alba" (Scotland), "and Constantine mac Aod gave them battle, and Oitir was slain, with a slaughter of foreigners along with them." (F.M.)

The Ulster account of the expedition is very important; the Four Masters seldom notice events which occurred out of Ireland.

"The Gentiles of Lochdachaeach left Ireland, and went to Scotland. The men of Scotland, with the assistance of the North-Saxons, prepared for them. The Gentiles divided themselves into four battles, viz., one by Godfrey O'Hivar; another by the two earls; the third by the young lords; and the fourth by Ranall mac Bieloeh, which the Scots did not see. But the Scots overthrew the three that they saw, so that they had a great slaughter of them about Ottir and Gragava; but Ronall gave the onset behind the Scots, so that he had the killing of many of them, only that neither King nor Maormor was lost in the conflict. Night put an end to the battle."

Simeon of Durham has a notice of this affair, six years too early.

"A.D. 912 (918). King Reingwald, and Earl Otir, and Osvul Cracabam, invaded and ravaged Dunblie." (Dunblain on the Forth).

The Ulster account is valuable in giving Gragava as the name of one of the two earls, and so explaining Simeon's Cracabam¹⁷ as a surname of Oswulf. Bieloeh is perhaps the name of Regnald's mother; the Irish Annals supply many instances of persons distinguished by the mention of their mother's name.

In the same year the Ulster Annals continue,

"War between Nell mac Hugh, and Sitrik O'Hivar."

This war was ended in the year following;

"A.D. 917 or 918 (919). The battle of At Cliat, i.e. of Cill Mosa-moche (Kilmashoge), by the side of At Cliat, over the Irish, by Iomair and Sitring Gale, on the 17 Kal: October, 4th day; in which were slain Niall Glundub, son of Aod Finnleit, after he had been three years in the sovereignty, &c.— Easter on the 25th April." (F.M. & U.)

This notice is very important. The year is determined, A.D. 919, by Easter, 25th April, and Wednesday, 15th September. Niall was sovereign of Ireland, and it is elsewhere said that he fell by the hand

¹⁷ It should be "Cracaban," a surname afterwards given to Olaf Tryggveson, meaning "soothsayer." Lappenberg strangely translates it Clackmannan.

of Amhlaid, (*i.e.* Olaf, Sihtric's brother.) We must therefore correct the notice, in our Chronicle (in the three latest MSS. D.E.F), two years too late, and in Simeon, five years too early, as follows:—

“A.D., 919. King Sihtric's brother slew Niel;”¹⁸

and clear Sihtric's memory of the guilt of one crime at least.

“A.D. 918 or 919 (920). A battle was gained in Ciannaecta Breg, that is at Tig-mic-n-Eathach, by Donnchad mac Flainn mic Macleachlainn,” (Niall's successor) “over the foreigners, wherein a countless number of foreigners was slain; indeed in this battle revenge was had of them for the battle of At Cliat, for there fell of the nobles of the Norsemen here, as many as had fallen of the nobles and plebeians of the Irish in the battle of At Cliat.” (F.M. & U.)

“Sihtric mac Ivar” (*i.e.* “ua Ivar,” grandson of Ivar) “forsook Dublin by divine power.”

His destination was probably Northumberland, whither Regnald had already gone to recover the kingdom of his father. He was succeeded in Dublin by Guthfrith O'Ivar, who commanded the first division of the Danish army in 918, and whom the Irish Annals notice in almost every year until 927.

The year of Regnald's invasion of Northumberland cannot be determined. It was probably A.D. 919, the year after his expedition to Scotland. In the “*Historia S. Cuthberti*” we are told that he came with a great fleet and occupied the land of Aldred, son of Eadulf, (*i.e.* Bernicia), that Aldred sought aid from Constantine King of Scotland, and attacked Regnald at Corbridge, but was defeated with great loss, his brother Uhtred and himself, alone of all the Northumbrian nobility, escaping with their lives, and that Regnald then divided the land of S. Cuthbert, from the Wear to the Tees, between his followers Onlaf and Seula. Our Chronicle, A.D. 923, and Simeon, A.D. 919, record his subsequent conquest of York, and as this entry only occurs in those MSS. (D. E. F.), which notice the death of Niel, two years too late, I think that this must be dated A.D. 921. The Annals of Ulster say:—

“A.D. 920 (921). Ragnall O'Hiver King of the White and Black Gentiles died,”

¹⁸ Simeon says “Niel rex occisus est a fratre Sihtrico.” Perhaps the original record had “Sihtrici,” whence the corruption “Sihtrico” would be very easy. Henry of Huntingdon amplifies this statement, on his own authority, of course; “nec multo ante” (mortem Eadwardi), “Sidric rex Nordhumbre occiderat fratrem suum Nigellum; quo scelere patrato, rex Reginaldus conquisiverat Eoverwic”; presenting to us as history, what was nothing more than an erroneous conjecture, that Sihtric was King of Northumberland at the time, and that the murder of Niel was connected with the conquest of York.

but this must be a mistake, arising probably out of some rumour of his death in England; for a Regnald was certainly reigning in Northumberland two years later; and it is very improbable that another of the same name, but of a different race, reigned between the brothers Regnald and Sihtric. In 923, the last entry of the third scribe of MS. A, written probably in this very year, records his submission to Eadweard, and from this time his name appears no longer in the history of Northumberland, but in that of the country in which he spent his youth. Frodoard says,

“A.D. 923. Ragenold, the Prince of the Northmen on the Loire, instigated by frequent messages from Charles, in conjunction with a great number” (of his compatriots, subjects of Rollo), “from Rouen, plunders France beyond the Oise. The vassals of Heribert attacked his camp and took immense booty, and 1000 captives were set free. Ragenold, on hearing this, greatly exasperated, marches to the district of Arras to plunder; but Count Adelelm met him, killed 600 of his army and put the rest to flight; with whom Ragenold hastes to the shelter of his forts, and thence, to the utmost of his power, plunders without intermission.”

“A.D., 924. Ragenold with his Northmen wastes the land of Hugo between the Loire and the Seine, because he had not yet received a settlement in Gaul.” (It seems then that he had been invited by King Charles, under the promise of such a settlement.) “Willelm and Hugo son of Robert make terms with Ragenold about their land, and Ragenold goes to Burgundy with his Northmen.”

“A.D. 925. In the beginning of the year Ragnold, with his Northmen wastes Burgundy. The Counts Warneri and Manasses, the Bishops Ansegis and Gotselm, encounter him at Mount Chalus” (4 leagues from Vezelay), “and kill more than 800 Northmen.”

He is mentioned no more, and the “*Historia S. Cuthberti*” says that he died in this year, the year of the death of Eadweard.

He was succeeded in Northumberland by his brother Sihtric, of whose career in England Simeon has preserved the earliest notice.

“A.D. 920.* King Sitric broke into Devennport” (Davenport in Cheshire);

but as Simeon’s date for the death of Niel is five years too early, so also may this. I would refer this invasion of Mercia to A.D. 925, when our Chronicle (MS. D.) informs us that Sihtric met Æthelstan at Tamworth, and received his sister in marriage. The same authority dates his death A.D. 926; but the true date, determined by the following notice in the Irish Annals, was A.D. 927.

“A.D. 925 or 926 (927). Sitriue ua Iomair, King of the Black and White foreigners, died.” (F. M. & U.)

After the departure of Regnald and Sihtric from Ireland,

"A.D. 919 or 920 (921). Gofrait ua Iomair took up his residence at At Cliat, and Ard-macha was afterwards plundered by him and his army." (F. M. & U.)

"A.D. 923 (924). An army by Gofraith O'Hivar from Dublin to Limerick, where many of his men were killed by Mac Ailche." (U.)

"A.D. 924 or 925 (926). A victory was gained by Muirceartac mac Neill—on the 28th December, being Thursday, when were slain 800 men with their chieftains, Albdann mac Gofrait, Aufer, and Roilt. The other half of them were besieged for a week at At Cruitne" (Ath Crathin near Newry), "until Gofrait, lord of the foreigners, came to their assistance from At Cliat." (F. M. & U.)

On the death of Sihtric in Northumberland,

"A.D. 925 or 926 (927). Gofrait with his foreigners left At Cliat, but came back after six months." (F. M. & U.)

The English Chronicle (MSS. E. & F.) very briefly notice his coming;

"A.D. 927. Here King Æthelstan expelled King Guthfrith ;"

but William of Malmsbury has very interesting particulars of his history. He does not contradict the Irish Annals in calling him the son of Sihtric, for if Sihtric's son he would still be O'Ivar, but it seems to me more probable that he and Olaf were Sihtric's younger brothers. The following notice in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, in the same year ;

"Mac Eilgi,¹⁹ with the sons of Sitrick, took Dublin, on Godfrey ;"

seems to intimate that they were too young to take part in public affairs, and that Mac Eilgi governed [the Danes of Dublin during Guthfrith's absence. William of Malmsbury says,

"Anlaf—fled into Ireland, and his brother Guthferth into Scotland."

"Messengers from the King immediately followed to Constantine King of the Scots, and to Eugenius King of the Cumbrians, claiming the fugitive under a threat of war. The barbarians had no thought of resistance, but came without delay to a place called Dacre" (in Cumberland), "and surrendered themselves and their kingdoms to the sovereign of England. Out of regard for this treaty, the King himself received the son of Constantine, who was ordered to be baptized at the sacred font. Guthferth, however, amidst the preparations for the journey, escaped by flight with one Turfrid, a leader of the opposite party ;

¹⁹ Lest this should be supposed the same as Mac Ailche, mentioned above, I add the sequel from the same Annals.

"Tomrair mac Alchi reported to go to hell with his pains as he deserved."

and, afterwards, laying siege to York, where, neither by entreaties nor by threats could he succeed in bringing the citizens to surrender, he departed. Not long after, being both besieged in a fortress, they eluded the vigilance of their enemies, and escaped. Turfrid, losing his life soon after by shipwreck, became a prey to fishes. Guthfrith, suffering extremely by sea and land, at last came a suppliant to court. Being amicably received by the King, and sumptuously entertained for four days, he returned to his ships; an incorrigible pirate, and accustomed to live in the water like a fish."

True in substance this story may be, but it has much of the author's own fancies mixed up with it. He did not know that Guthfrith had a kingdom in Ireland before he came to Northumberland, and that he returned to it in six months from his departure, after his unsuccessful attempt to establish himself in his father's kingdom at York. The rest of his history, not as a viking on the sea, but as a warrior on land, is written in the Irish Annals.

"A.D. 927 (929). The plundering of Cille Dara by Gotfrith on the feast of S. Brigit." (F. M.)

"A.D. 928 or 929 (930). Gofrait ua Iomair, with the foreigners of At Cliat, demolished and plundered Derce Feanra" (co. Kilkenny). (F. M. & U.)

"A.D. 929 (931). Gofrait went into Osraig" (Ossory) "to expel Ua Iomair from Moig Roigne" (Magh Raighne). (F. M.)

"A.D. 932 or 933 (934). Gothfrith, lord of the foreigners died." (F. M. & U.)

Before I proceed to the history of the Anlafs, I must notice an addition to Northumbrian history in the Annals of Clonmacnoise.

"A.D. 928 (933). Adulf mac Etulfe King of the North Saxons died."

This is a son of Eadulf, unknown to our historians except William of Malmsbury, who does not mention his parentage, calls him Aldulph, and says that he resisted Æthelstan, and was expelled by him after Sihtric's death.

Olaf, the son of Guthfrith I., and brother of Sihtric, seems to have established himself at Limerick, and to have had the surname Ceanncairech, "Scabbyhead."

"A.D. 929 or 931 (932). The victory of Duibthir" (near Athlone) "was gained by Amlaoib Ceanncairech of Luimneac." (F. M. & U.)

"A.D. 934 (935.) The island of Loch Gavar" (Wexford), "pulled down by Aulaiv O'Hivar. The cave of Cnova" (Knowth, co. Meath), "by him turmoiled the same week." (U.)

"A.D. 934 (936). Amlaoib Cendcairech with the foreigners came from Loch Eirne across Breifne to Loch Rib. On the night of Great Christmas they reached the Sinainn and remained seven months there." (F.M.)

I conclude that these notices relate to the same person, and that after marching northward from Wexford to Knowth, he proceeded to Lough Erne in 935, and thence to Lough Ree in the following year. Another notice of him, the last, will occur in the sequel.

There were two Olafs,²⁰ connected with the history of Northumberland in the tenth century, one of the son of Guthfrith II., the other his cousin, the son of Sihtric. I shall trace the history of each separately.

The former is first mentioned during the life of his father,

"A.D. 931 or 932 (933). Ardmacha was plundered, about the feast of S. Martin by the son of Gofraid, *i.e.* Amlaib, with the foreigners of Loch Cuan about him. Matadan mac Aed, with the province of Ulster, and Amlaib mac Gofrait spoiled and plundered the province—but they were overtaken by Muircertach mac Neill, and a battle was fought between them in which he defeated them." (F.M. & U.)

"A.D. 935 (937). Amblaoib mac Gofradh, lord of the foreigners, came at Lammas from At Cliat, and carried off Amlaoib Cendcairech from Loch Rib, and the foreigners who were with him, after breaking their ships."

"The foreigners of At Cliat left their fortress, and went to England." (F.M.)

The Annals of Ulster simply record the terrible battle which ensued, and Æthelstan's victory over Olaf; but those of Clonmacnoise have a very interesting notice, supplying the names of several of the chieftains who fell on Olaf's side.

"Awley with all the Danes of Dublin, and the north part of Ireland, departed, and went over seas. The Danes that departed from Dublin arrived in England, and by the help of the Danes of that kingdom they gave battle to the Saxons in the plains of Othlyn, where there was a great slaughter of Normans and Danes, among which these ensuing captains were slain, viz. Sithfrey and Oisle, the two sons of Sittrick Galey, Awley Fivit; and Moylemorrey, the son of Cossewara, Moyle-Isa, Geleachan King of the Islands, Ceallach Prince of Scotland, with 30,000, together with 800 captains about Awley mac Godfrey, and about Arick mac Brith. Hoa, Deck, Imar, the King of Denmark's own son, with 4000 soldiers in his guard, were all slain."

The English Chronicle says that five young kings, and seven earls of Olaf's army were slain, and if to those here named we add Adils and Hryngr of the Saga of Egil we have the whole number. Sittrick Galey, whose sons were slain, was the King of Northumberland; he is called Sitric Gale, in the narrative of the battle of Kilmashoge, A.D.

²⁰ Mr. Thorpe, in a note to his excellent edition of the English Chronicle, expresses surprise at the form of the name used therein. Anlaf is in fact an older form than Olaf, and has become Olaf by the process which converted the Gothic "tunthus" into the O.E. "tôth," and the Gothic "ans" into O.L. and N. "6s." So also in our Chronicle, in the oldest MS. the name Ivar is represented by Inwær.

919. The son of Constantine, whose death the Chronicle and Ingulf record, is here named Ceallach. As these Annals speak of Northumbrian Danes as assisting Olaf, and then associate with him as commander Arick mac Brith, it seems that he must have been the leader of their forces. The Saga of Egil speaks of Adils and Hryngr as British princes (that is reigning in Britain, for their names are Norse), who fought on Olaf's side. The latter must have been the same as Arick or Eric. Barith, his father, seems to have been left commander of the Danes of Dublin by Olaf and Ivar when they went to England, for after the record of his destroying the Oratory of Ceanan, A.D. 878 (881), he is called the fierce champion of the Norsemen, and chief of the persecutors, and his son, Colla mac Barith of Limerick, A.D. 922 (924), is called Ua Iomair in A.D. 929 (931). Eric mac Barith was therefore most probably a grandson of Ivar, and reigned in Northumberland, during the interval, A.D. 933 to 937, which is blank in our Annals. He fell in the battle.

William of Malmsbury says that the Danish leader on this occasion was Anlaf the son of Sihtric. Perhaps he was present in this battle, with his brothers, but the leader was certainly the son of Guthfrith.

"A.D. 936 or 937 (938). Amlaib mac Gofrad came to At Cliat again, and plundered Ceall Cuilinn," (Kilcullen), "and carried off 1000 prisoners," (F. M. & U.)

"A.D. 937 (939). The foreigners, *i.e.*, Amlaoib mac Gotfrit, deserted At Cliat, by the help of God and Mac Tail."²¹ (F.M.)

The Annals of Ulster record the death of Æthelstan in the same year.

Neither the Annals of Ulster nor those of the Four Masters name this Olaf again, but in those of Clonmacnoise (generally seven years too early), we have

"A.D. 934 (941). Awley mac Godfrey, King of the Danes died."

Simeon has preserved a fuller notice of him.

"A.D. 941. Olilaf" ("Onlaf" R. Howden), "ravaged the Church of S. Balter, and burned Tiningham, and perished immediately."

MSS. E. and F. of our Chronicle notice his death A.D. 942.

This was the end of Olaf, the son of Guthfrith II. His last two years were probably spent in piracy. Henceforth all the notices of Olaf in our Chronicle belong to the son of Sihtric, who by this time had attained to years sufficient to enable him to take the kingdom of Dublin

²¹ Mac Tail was the patron of Kilcullen, lately ravaged by this Aulaf.

into his own hands. Of course his claim to the throne was prior to that of his cousin, but the latter reigned in Dublin during his minority.

After the death of Harald Haarfager, King of Norway, in 936, Æthelstan furnished Hakon, who had been educated at his court, with a fleet to enable him to contest the succession to the throne of Norway, with his elder brother Eric Blodaxe, then reigning by their father's will. Eric however, was so unpopular, that he found himself obliged to relinquish his rights to Hakon without a struggle; and he left Norway with all his followers in the following summer, recruited his forces in Orkney, plundered the coast of Scotland, and came to England. Æthelstan ceded to him the kingdom of Northumberland, on condition that he and his family should be baptized, and that he should defend the land against the Vikings; and he fixed his residence at York, but went to sea every summer, and plundered Shetland, the Hebrides, Iceland, and Bretland. After the accession of Eadmund, no friend to the Northmen nor to Eric, there was a rumour that he intended to set up another king over Northumberland, so Eric went again to Orkney for fresh forces, plundered Iceland and Bretland, returned to England, and advanced into the heart of the country. Eadmund had set up a king, whose name was Olaf, and he gathered an innumerable host with which he marched against Eric. A dreadful battle ensued, in which Eric was slain, and five other kings with him, and when the tidings of it reached Northumberland, his widow Gunhild, and her sons, retired to Orkney.

Such is the story, in the Saga of Hakon the Good, of the reign, in Northumberland, of a king, of whom our historians say absolutely nothing. Indeed the period during which it is asserted that he reigned is a complete blank in our annals.

Lappenberg very much undervalues this story; for my part I must say that I regard it as substantially true, but I must reserve my comments upon it, until I have introduced Eric's adversary, Olaf the son of Sihtric.

The Annals of Clonmacnoise, and of the Four Masters, say,

"A.D. 933 or 938 (940). Amlaoib Cuaran" (*i.e.* "the Crooked"), "went to Cair Abroc, and Blacaire mac Gofrad came to At Cliat;"

and the Four Masters continue,

"a victory was gained by the King of the Saxons over Constantine mac Aed, Anlaf or Amlaoib mac Sitric, and the Britons."

Our Chronicle, MS. D., says,

"A.D. 941 (940). Here the Northumbrians belied their fealty oaths, and chose Anlaf of Ireland for their King."

Simeon of Durham says,

"A.D. 939 (940). This year King Onlaf came first to York. Afterwards going southward, he besieged Hamton," (Northampton), "but gaining no advantage there, he marched his army to Tamworth; and, having wasted the country round, when he reached Leicester on his return, King Eadmund met him with his army; but there was no great battle, for the two archbishops, Odo and Wulstan, appeasing the kings on either side, put an end to the conflict. Peace being therefore made, Watlingstreet was made the boundary of either kingdom, Edmund held the south, Onlaf the north."

Roger of Wendover supports Simeon in saying that peace was made by the intervention of the two archbishops, but not until after a fierce battle had been fought, and adds that it was agreed between Olaf and Eadmund that the survivors should have all England, and that Olaf married the daughter of Earl Orm. MS. A. of the Chronicle says,

"A.D. 941 (940). Eadmund the King received King Anlaf at baptism, and the same year, a good while afterwards, he received King Ragenold at the Bishop's hands."

It is therefore decisive evidence that the reconciliation between Eadmund and Olaf took place in the year of Olaf's coming, and therefore that the date of the following notice in MS. D. is wrong.

"A.D. 943 (940). Here Anlaf stormed Tamworth, and great carnage was on either hand, and the Danes had the victory and much booty they led away with them; there, during the pillage, was Wulfrun taken. Here King Eadmund besieged King Anlaf and Archbishop Wulfstan in Leicester, and he would have taken them, were it not that they broke out by night from the burh. And after that Anlaf acquired King Eadmund's friendship," &c., as in MS. A. quoted above.

Here I must first insist on the identity of Olaf the son of Sihtric, and "Anlaf Cuaran." It is evident from our Chronicle that Olaf who was chosen by the Northumbrians is the same as he who afterwards encountered Eadmund, made peace with him, and had him for godfather at his baptism in the same year; and this Olaf is called by the Four Masters, first "Anlaf Cuaran," in the notice of his departure for York, and then, in that of his encounter with Eadmund; "the son of Sihtric." On the other hand the Olaf who burned Tiningham was a distinct person, according to Simeon, and the Annals of Clonmacnoise tell us that he was the son of Guthfrith; and his death is recorded only in two

MSS., E. and F., which do not contain the entries relative to the other Olaf.²²

Now, with regard to the story of Eric, I think it is possible to reconcile it with the above statements thus. After the death of Æthelstan, knowing that the Northumbrians were attached to the family of Sihtric, and that he could not rely on the support of Eadmund, Eric sought help from his friends in Orkney. On his return, he found that his subjects had invited Olaf, and marched to give him battle. Olaf was besieging Northampton, but raised the siege on hearing of Eric's approach, retraced his steps to Tamworth, and there defeated and slew him. The knowledge that Olaf's forces were much weakened by his hardly-won victory, might encourage Eadmund to attack him at Leicester, where the Chronicle, Simeon, and other annalists, agree that he and Olaf met for the first time.

The peace between Olaf and Eadmund was broken by the latter, after three years;

"A.D. 944 (943). King Eadmund subdued all Northumberland into his power, and expelled two kings, Anlaf the son of Syhtric, and Rægenald the son of Guthferth."

They must, however, have returned immediately; for after his notice of the expulsion;

"A.D. 943. The Northumbrians expelled their King Onlaf from his kingdom;"

Simeon records a second;

"A.D. 945. King Eadmund, having expelled two kings, obtained the kingdom of the Northumbrians."

In the interval between these dates, I believe that Regnald, Olaf's cousin, son of Guthfrith, fell in battle; for only to him can the following notice in the Annals of Clonmacnoise belong;

"A.D. 937 (944). The King of the Danes killed by the King of the Saxons at York."

²² The confusion, which has hitherto prevailed with regard to the Olafs, has arisen from a want of attention to the differences in the MSS. of the English Chronicle, and to the sources whence our later historians have derived the information.

Florence of Worcester copies the notices of A.D. 941 and 943, but is silent with regard to the Olaf of A.D. 942 (941). He therefore had not seen MSS. such as E. and F. Henry of Huntingdon knows nothing of the invitation of Olaf A.D. 941 (940), but notices the death of the other Olaf, and then Eadmund's sponsorship.

No weight can be attached to these annalists' identification of these princes, for each having noticed but one before, it was natural that, on a recurrence of the name, they should add such phrases as "*cujus supra meminimus*," (Flor : A.D. 943), "*de quo prædiximus*," (Henr : A.D. 942); and if, in these instances they happen to be right, there are others, in which this method has led to a false conclusion.

Olaf returned to Dublin, after his second expulsion, and took the kingdom out of the hands of Blacaire.

"A.D. 943 or 944 (945). Blacaire, one of the chiefs of the foreigners, was expelled from At Cliat, and Amlaib remained after him there." (F. M. & U.)

"Some of O'Canannan's people killed by Congalach and Anlaiv Cuarain in Tir Conell." (U.)

"A.D. 944 (946). The plundering of Cille Cuilinn by the foreigners, *i.e.* by Amlaib Cuaran. Atalstan the celebrated King of the Saxons died." (F.M.)

The name in the last entry, of course, is a mistake, which the Annals of Clonmacnoise correct, "Ettymon," *i.e.* Eadmund.

"A.D. 945 or 946 (947). An army was led by Ruaidri ua Canannain to Slaine, where the foreigners and the Irish met him, viz., Congalach mac Maoilmithig and Amlaib Cuaran, and the foreigners of At Cliat were defeated, and numbers slain or drowned." (F. M. & U.)

"A.D. 946 or 947 (948). The battle of At Cliat by Congalach mac Maoilmithig over Blacaire ua Iomair, lord of the Norsemen, wherein Blacaire himself, and 1600 men were lost, both wounded and captives, along with him." (F. M. & U.)

Blacaire is come again, for Olaf is gone to Northumberland. Our Chronicle (MSS. E. and F.), records his arrival.

"A.D. 949 (948). Here Anlaf Cwiran came to Northumberland."

The events which occurred in Northumberland in the interval between his expulsion and his return are noticed in MS. D.

"A.D. 947 (946). Here King Eadred came to Taddenessecylf, and there Archbishop Wulfstan and all the Northumbrian witan swore fealty to the king, but in a little while they belied it all, the pledges and the oaths.

"A.D. 948 (947). Here King Eadred overran all Northumberland, because they had taken Yryc for their king; and in that harrying the great minster at Ripon, which S. Wilfrid had built, was burned. And when the King was homeward, the army within York overtook him, the King's rear was at Ceasterford" (Castleford), "and there made great slaughter. Then was the King so indignant, that he would again march in, and destroy the country utterly. When the Northumbrian witan understood that, they forsook Hyryc, and made compensation for the deed with King Eadred."

Simeon of Durham dates these events A.D. 948 and 950.

Olaf reigned three years in Northumberland after his return. MSS. E. and F. record his expulsion;

"A.D. 952 (951). Here the Northumbrians drove out King Anlaf, and received Yric Harold's son."

I suspect that Olaf did not go to Ireland during Eric's second reign, but that he remained on the borders of the kingdom, and harassed Eric. The following notice must refer to him.

"A.D. 950 or 951 (952). A battle was gained by the foreigners over the men of Alba and the Saxons, in which many were slain." (F. M. & U.);

and it was in conflict with his party that Eric fell. The Chronicle, MSS. D. E. F., merely says,

"A.D. 954 (953). Here the Northumbrians drove out Yric, and Eadred assumed the kingdom of the Northumbrians";

but Roger of Wendover informs us that he was betrayed by the Earl Osulf, and slain by the Consul Macon²³ (whom Simeon calls Maccus, son of Onlaf), in the wastes of Stainmore, with his brother Reginald, and his son Henric.

The occurrence in this history of an Eric son of Harold, so near to the time of Eric son of Harald Haarfager, would have been a great puzzle to us, had not Adam of Bremen most fortunately preserved the following notice of him.

"Then" (*i.e.* at the end of the reign of Guthfrith's dynasty) "Harald" (Blatand, King of Denmark) "sent his son Hiring with an army into England, and he subdued the island, but was at length *betrayed and slain by the Northumbrians.*"

Having thus, by the aid of the Irish Annals, endeavoured to trace the history of the dynasty founded in Northumberland by Guthfrith the son of Ivar, I will ask my readers to follow with me, to the end, the fortunes of its last king.

When he went to Northumberland in 948, Blacaire succeeded him again in Dublin, but fell in battle, as we have seen, in the same year, and was succeeded by Olaf's brother, Guthfrith son of Sihtric, who is mentioned in 950 and 951. In 953, Eadred having established his dominion in Northumberland, Olaf seems to have returned to Ireland.

"A.D. 951 (953). The plundering of Inis Doimle, and Inis Ulad" (in co. Wicklow), "by Amlaib Cuaran, and Tuatal mac Ugaire." (F. M.)

"A.D. 954 (956). Amlaoib mac Gofrad" (this must be a mistake, unless in this instance his grandfather is meant), "lord of the foreigners,

²³ Magnus is the more usual form of this name.

with his foreigners, laid an ambush for Congalaig, by means of which he was taken with his chieftains at Tig Giogrann" (near Dublin.) (F.M.)

"A.D. 960 (962). A prey by Sitriuucc Cam from the sea to Uib Colgan, but he was overtaken by Amlaib with the foreigners of At Cliat, and the Leinstermen Amlaib was wounded through the thigh with an arrow, and Sitriuucc Cam escaped to his ships, after the slaughter of his people." (F. M.)

"A.D. 962 (964). A victory was gained over Amlaib mac Sitriuucc, by the Ossory men, *i.e.* at Inis Teoc" (Ennistiegue, co. Kilkenny), "where many of the foreigners were slain." (F. M.)

"A.D. 965 (967). Muireadach mac Faolain, Abbot of Cille Dara, and royal heir of Leinster, was killed by Amlaoiph, lord of the foreigners, and by Cerball mac Lorcaín." (F. M.)

The two following notices appear to refer to one and the same event.

"A.D. 967 (969). Cenanusa" (Kells) "was plundered by Sitriuucc, son of Amlaib the lord of the foreigners, and by Murchad mac Finn, King of Leinster, but Domnall ua Neill, King of Ireland, overtook and defeated them." (F. M.)

"A.D. 968 (970). Ceanannus was plundered by Amlaib Cuaran, with the foreigners and Leinstermen, and he carried off a great prey of cows; but lost numbers of his people together with Breasal mac Eillel, and he gained a victory over the Ui Nell at Ard Maelchon," (Ard Mulchan co. Meath). (F. M.)

"A.D. 975 (977). Muirceartach mac Domnaill ui Neill, and Congalach mac Domnaill mic Congalaig, two heirs to the monarchy of Ireland, were slain by Amlaoibh mac Sitriuucc." (F.M.)

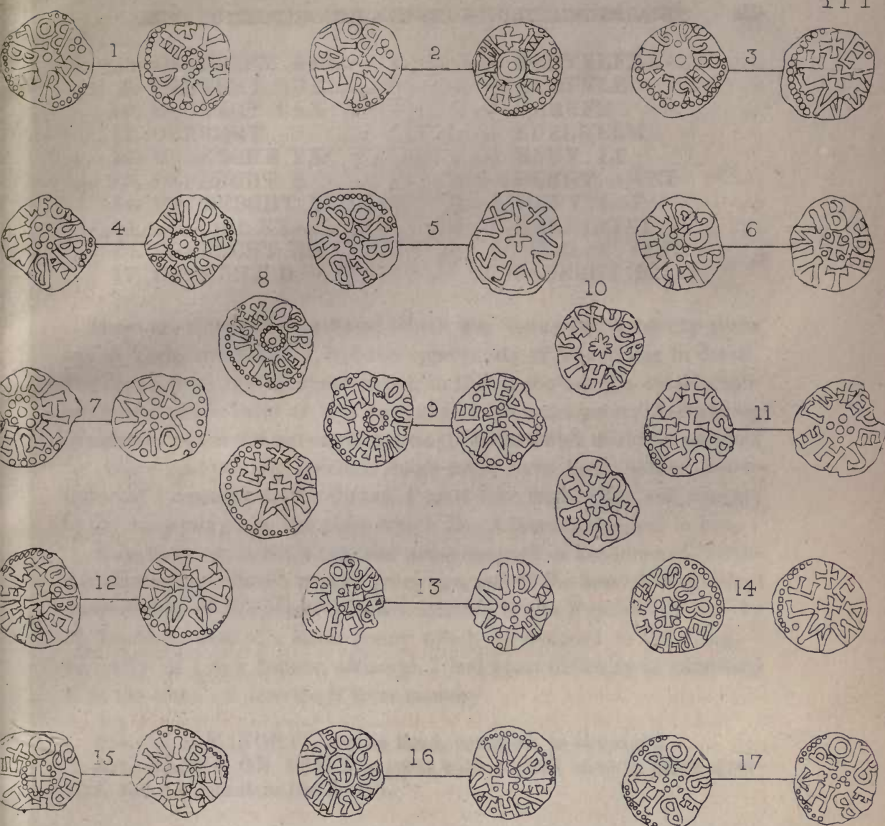
"A.D. 976 (978). The battle of Cillemona by Domnaill mac Congalaig and Amlaoib, over the King, Domnall ua Neill." (F. M.)

"A.D. 978 (980). The battle of Tamar" (Tara) "by Maoilseclaind mac Domnaill, over the foreigners of At Cliat, and the islands, and over the sons of Amlaoib in particular, where many were slain, together with Ragnall mac Amlaoib, heir to the sovereignty of the foreigners, Chona-mail mac Gilliairri, and the Orator of At Cliat; and a dreadful slaughter of the foreigners with them." (F. M.)

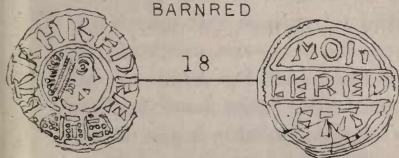
"A.D. 979 (981). Amlaoib, son of Siotriucc, chief lord of the foreigners of At Cliat, went to I on his pilgrimage, and he died there, after penance and a good life."

The first plate contains seventeen varieties of the stycas of Osberht.

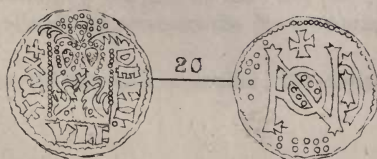
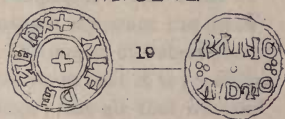
1. OSBFRH ∴ B	+ EDVLHV
2. OSBFRII ∴ B	+ EDELHELM
3. OSBERCHT R	+ E. ANVVLF
4. OSBEBCHT F	BERH ∴ T ∴ VINI
5. OSBEBHT B	+ VVLFSIXT
6. OSBERCHT I	BERHTVINI
7. OSBERCHT	+ VONNE



BARNRED



ALFDENE.



8. OSBEBCHT REX	+ EANVVLFX
9. OSBVFHT REX	+ EANVVLE
10. OSBREHT REX	+ HERRFR
11. OSBREHT	+ EDELHELM
12. OSBERCHE IX	+ BANV.LF
13. OSBERCHT B	-BERHT .: VNI
14. OS.BEBCHT RECX	+ EANVVLF
15. OSEBCH EX	BERHTVINI
16. OSBERCHT RE	BERH.T.VINI
17. OSBEBHT B	OSBEBHT B

These are chiefly from a hoard which was found about twenty years ago at York, and which I had the opportunity of examining in detail. It differed from the Hexham hoard, in that it contained a considerable proportion of the coins of this king and of his cotemporary Archbishop Wulfhern, but it did not contain a single piece which could be assigned to Ælle; and as the Hexham coins must have been hidden before Osberht's accession to the throne, I must take from Ælle, and relegate to the uncertain class, the piece which Mr. Adamson assigned to him.

Ælle, however, is not altogether unrepresented in the series of Northumbrian coins. Some twenty years ago, one of the most distinguished numismatists of Scandinavia communicated to the Numismatic Society of London, a cast of a silver penny which he assigned to this King,—correctly, as I now believe, although I had great difficulty in admitting it at the time. I describe it from memory.

Obv. ELA MINORTI, a rude head, crowned, to the right.

Rev. ELRED ON VSILT, a cross with a small cross in three quarters, and a crescent in the fourth.

If this coin is English, and it seems impossible to connect it with the numismatic series of any country but our own, Ælle of Northumberland is the only king to whom it can belong; but it stands alone, without any cotemporary coins with which it can be compared. The series of Northumbrian coins is so defective, that we cannot say when the styca coinage ceased, and the penny coinage began. No money of Osberht has yet been found mixed with that of his successors, so that it is possible that he coined pennies before the end of his reign; but all that we can say at present is this, that of his money we have only stycas, which may have been coined as late as A.D. 863; that, after an interval of twelve years, we have a penny and a half-penny which undoubtedly belonged to Halfdene; and that we have this piece, and another, to be described immediately, to represent the Northumbrian currency of that interval.

The execution of this coin is peculiar; the devices and the legends

have been engraved in the dies, not produced by a series of punches, as on the cotemporary coins of the Mercian and West Saxon Kings; but we must remember, that even on coins of the same reign (that of Ælfred for instance), there are great differences of workmanship.

The legends, too, are strange. We should not have expected so early the formula *Clred on Usilt*; but, after all, it is English, and possible under the reign of any English King. The moneyer's name seems intended for *Celred*; the mint I cannot identify.

But what shall we say to the obverse legend *Ela minorti*! I can suggest nothing better than *minor tyrannus*, "the inferior King"; supposing that Ælle had the royal title, and owned the supremacy of Osberht, before the revolution in which Osberht was deposed.

The following coin was found some years ago in the church at Corbridge, and is in the possession of Mr. Fairless of Hexham:—

Obv. BARNRED RE, a rude bust.

Rev. CERED MONETA, in three lines. (Plate I.)

The type and workmanship are the same as those of the cotemporary coins of Æthelred, Ælfred, and Burgred; the moneyer's name should be *Celred* or *Cenred*; if the former, it would be the same as on the coin of Ælle; if the latter it is the name of one who worked for Burgred. As we have instances of simple and compound names borne by the same person, and I have elsewhere suggested that our forefather's fondness for alliteration may account for the resemblance which frequently exists between them, I think it very probable that this *Barnred* is Biorn or Buern, who is said to have betrayed his country to the Danes; and that he was the person whom they left as King in Deira, when they went to the South.

The Cuerdale hoard furnished one piece, a half-penny, which undoubtedly belongs to Halfdene; it is now for the first time published.

Obv. +ALFDENE RX, a small cross.

Rev. RAINGALD MO, in two lines.

The type is the same as that of the most common coins of Ælfred. The moneyer's name, *Raingald* for *Raignald*, has not occurred on any other coins of the time.

There was also in the same hoard a penny of this King,

Obv. DEN ALF RX+ (the syllables of the name transposed); two emperors sitting together on a throne, overshadowed by victory.

Rev. The monogram of London. (Plate I.)

²⁴ I have published it, in my essay on the coins of Ælfred.



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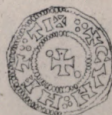
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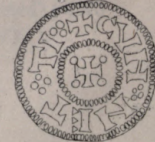
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The obverse type, copied from the coins of Arcadius and Honorius, appears also on the reverse of a penny of Ceolwulf II. of Mercia; the reverse, the same as that of some of the coins of Ælfred, seems to limit the time of mintage of this piece to A.D. 872, when Halfdene occupied London.

Many coins of the time offer examples of transpositions of the legend, as on this; a very remarkable one will be noticed in the sequel.

I now proceed to describe a series of coins, of which very few were known previous to the finding of the Cuerdale hoard, in May, 1840. They bear the names of two kings, Cnut and Siefred; and I am as firmly convinced as ever that they are Northumbrian, of the close of the ninth century. I had engraved one plate of the coins of Cnut, and had prepared for engraving drawings for two other plates, containing about thirty additional varieties, when I was compelled to abandon my scheme; but the series of the coins of Siefred is complete.

I shall describe the coins of Cnut in classes, each class in what I conceive to be the true order of the types; and then those of Siefred.

1. CNVT, each letter attached to one of the extremities of a cross, the whole so placed as to be read at one view, without turning the coin, in the order in which the cross is formed, first downwards, then from left to right;²³ in the intervals between them the letters REX, completing the legend CNVT REX; a pellet in each quarter of the cross.
+EBRAICE CIVITAS, a small cross. (Pl. II. 4).
- 2 & 3. Same type and same obverse legend.
+EIRAICE CIVI; and +EB :: IAI :: CEC :: IVI :: . . (Pl. II. 5 & 6).
4. Same arrangement of the legend CNVT REX, but the cross is paté and the letters detached.
+EB RAI CEC IV; same type. (Pl. II. 8 & 9).
5. Same legend; no pellets in the quarters of the cross.
+EB :: IAI :: CEC :: IV :: ; a small cross with a pellet in two opposite quarters. (Pl. II. 10).
6. Same legend and type.
+EB :: IAI :: CEC :: IVI :: ; a cross with a pellet in each angle. (Pl. II. 11).
7. Same legend; a bar across the lower limb of the cross, and a pellet in each quarter of the crosslet so formed.
+EBRAICE CIVITA; a small cross. (Hawkins 125).

²⁴ This is a common arrangement on the coins and seals of the Byzantine empire; and, about half a century later than the date of these coins, we have an example of it on the coins of the Emperor Otho I, struck at Verona.

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8. Same legend; the left arm of the cross barred.
+E :: B : ICI :: C :: EC : Δ ::; a cross with a pellet in each quarter. (H. 128).
9. Same legend and type as 7.
+EBRAICE CIVITA; monogram KROLS. (H. 112).
10. Same legend and type.
+EB. IAI :: CE·CIT; monogram EROLS. (H. 113).

The variations in the reverse legend of these coins are as follow :—

EBRAICE CIV . CIVI . CIVITA . CIVITS . CIVITAS .
BRAICE CIVIT.
EBARICE CIVI . EBIAICE C . CI . CIT . CIV . CIVI .
CIVITA.
EBIAICI CV . EBIVICE CIA . EBHICE CIV . EBCE CV.
EBIARI CEI . ERAICE CIVIT . EIRAICE CIVI . IBRAICI
CITA.

The number of specimens of these varieties in the hoard was upwards of 500.

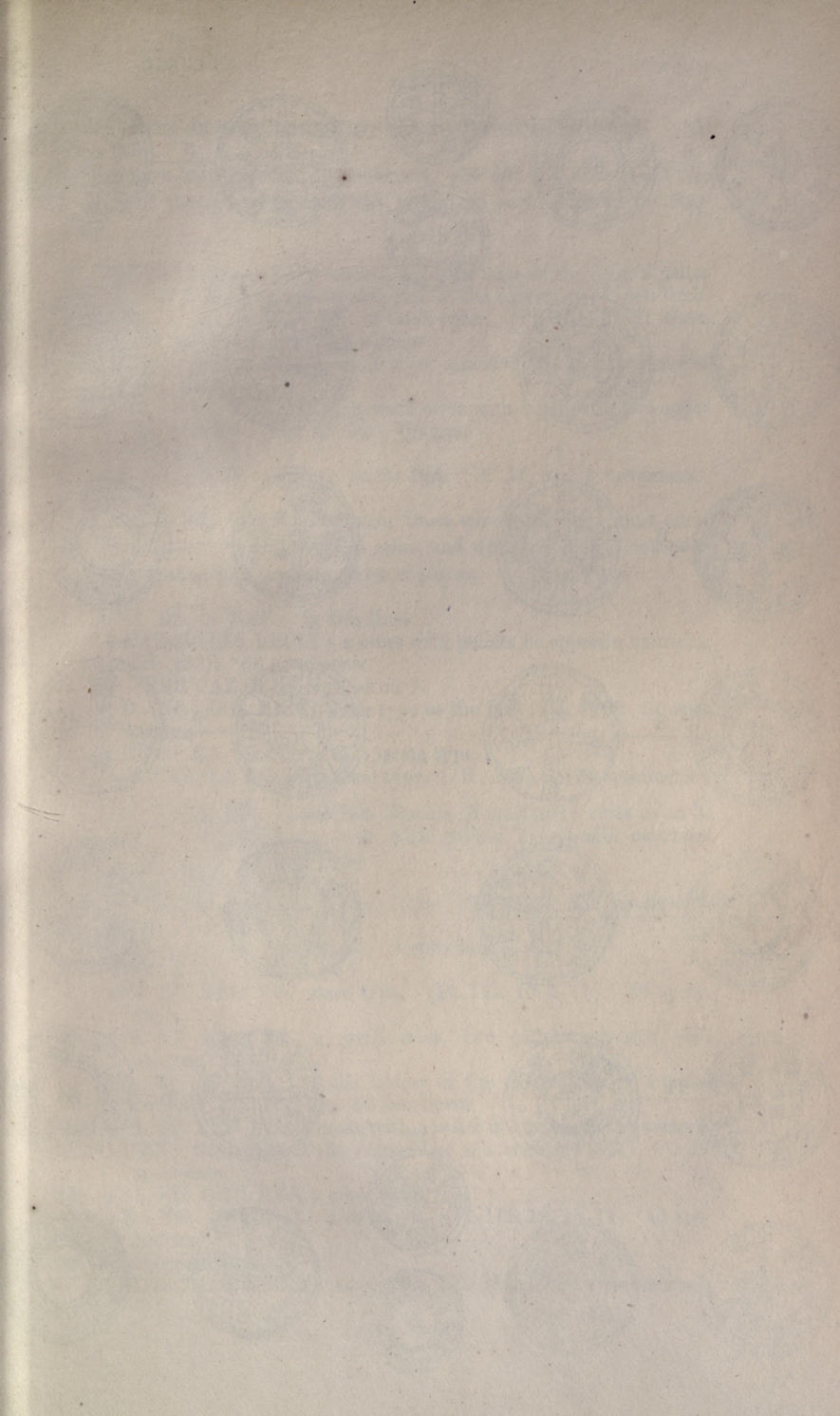
11. Same type and obverse legend as 1; reverse legend +CVN :: NET :: TI ::. (Pl. II. 7).
12. Same type and obverse legend as 5; reverse legend ÷ : CVN :: NET :: TI ::. (Pl. II. 12 & 13).
13. Same type and obverse legend as 6; reverse legend +CVN :: NET :: TI ::. (Pl. II. 14).
14. Same obverse legend and type as 7.
+CVN :: NET :: TI ::; a cross with a pellet in two opposite quarters. (H. 118).
15. CNVT REIX; same as the above, but with a small cross in each upper quarter of the cross.
+CVN :: NETI ::; a small cross. (H. 117).
16. CNVT REX, the letter R attached to the upper limb of the cross.
+CVN :: NETI :: as 14. (H. 119).
17. Same legend; the upper as well as the lower limb of the cross barred, and pellets in each quarter of each croslet.
+CVN :: NET :: TI ::, as 14. (H. 120).
18. Same legend and type as 7.
+CVN :: NET :: TI ::; monogram EROLS. (H. 114).

The variations in the reverse legend of these coins are as follow :—

CIVINTI	CVNNETI	CVNNIETITI.	The most common
CIVNETI	CVNNETITI	CVNNITI	is CVNNETTI
CVNETI	CVNNETT	CVNNTTE	
CVNNETCI	CVNNETTI	CVNNTTEI	

The number of specimens of these varieties was upwards of 1900.

The following varieties have the obverse legend blundered. They





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seem to have been executed by moneyers, who did not understand the meaning of the arrangement of the legend on such coins as the foregoing.

19. CRETN; a cross croslet extending to the edge of the coin, a pellet in each quarter, and on each side of the extremity of each limb.
+EB :: IAI :: CEC . IV . a small cross. (Pl. II. 1). Of these the hoard contained 7 specimens.
20. CRTEN; a cross with a small cross attached to the extremity of each limb.
+EB . RAI . CEC . IV .; a small cross with a pellet in two opposite quarters. (Pl. II. 2). Unique.
21. CRTEN; as 19.
+CVN :: NET :: TI ::; as the last. (Pl. II. 3). 3 specimens.

As introductory to, and illustrating those which follow, I must mention what seem to be ecclesiastical coins, and which as such I intended to have engraved in a separate series of plates.

- a. DNS DS O REX; in two lines.
+MIRABILIA FECIT; a cross with pellets in opposite quarters. (H. 133). 66 specimens.
- b. +. EBR . AI CEC; cross as on 7.
+D . NS . DS . REX; same type as the last. (H. 110). 10 specimens.
- c. +EB :: RA :: EC :: EC; same type.
+MIRABILA FECIT; same type. (H. 131). 124 specimens.
22. CVT RIEB EB; (Cnut Rex Ebraice, N omitted); cross as on 7.
+D NS DS REX; a cross with pellets in opposite quarters. (H. 111). 10 specimens.
23. CNVT REX; same type.
+MIRABILA FECIT; same type. (H. 129). 121 specimens.
24. Same legend and type as 22.
Same legend and type as last. 4 specimens.
25. CNVT REX; cross as on 7.
+SI EF RED VS; same type. (Pl. III. 10 & 11). 57 specimens.
26. +SI EF RED VS; a small cross, two pellets opposite each quarter.
+ . R . E . X .; the letters at the extremities of a cross croslet. (Pl. III. 8). 26 specimens.
27. +SI EF RED VS; a cross with a pellet in two opposite quarters.
+REX; the letters at the extremities of a cross. (Pl. III. 9). 27 specimens.
28. +SI EU ERT REX; cross as on 7.
+D . NS . DS . REX .; as on 22. (Pl. III. 12, 13, 14). 43 specimens.
29. Same legend and type.
+MIRABILA FECIT; as on 23. (Pl. III. 15). 4 specimens.

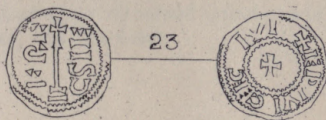
30. +SI ∴ FCR ∴ TRE; same type.
+NI ∴ RA ∴ BI ∴ LI ∴; same type. (Pl. III. 16). Unique.
31. RS IE VE RT; a cross with a small cross at the extremity of each limb, occupying the whole field and dividing the legend.
+EB IAI CEC IVI; a small cross. (Pl. III. 1).
32. Same legend; similar type, with three pellets in each quarter of the cross.
+EB ∴ IAI ∴ CEC ∴ IVI ∴; same type. (Pl. III. 2).
33. IS IE VE RT; same type.
+EB IAI CEC IVI; a small cross with three pellets opposite each quarter. (Pl. III. 3). Of these three varieties there were 45 specimens.
34. +SIE FRE DVS REX; a cross crosslet, no inner circle.
Same legend and type as last. (Pl. III. 4).
35. In every respect the same as the last, except that a cross, connecting four small crosses, takes the place of the cross crosslet on the obverse. (Pl. III. 5).
36. +SIE ∴ FRE ∴ DVS ∴ REX; same type, obverse and reverse, and same reverse legend as the last. (Pl. III. 6). Of these three varieties there were 62 specimens.
37. CSIE ERX ERS IIIDE; a cross with a pellet in each quarter, two at the extremity of each limb, and four below each interval in the legend.
+EB ∴ IAI ∴ CEC ∴ IVI ∴; a small cross. (Pl. III. 7). 6 specimens. The obverse legend of this piece illustrates the reading on the penny of Halfdene, noticed above. The first six letters are correctly placed, the remaining seven must be read backwards from the end. CSIEER EDIIS REX.
38. CSIEFRE DVS REX; in two lines.
Same legend and type. (Pl. IV. 18).
39. Same legend and type.
Legend and type as in 33. (Pl. IV. 19). Of these two varieties there were 11 specimens.
40. Same legend; a cross on steps between the lines.
+EB RAI CEC IVI; same type as the last. (Pl. IV. 20).
41. Same legend and type.
Legend and type as 32. (Pl. IV. 21). Of these two varieties there were 18 specimens.
42. SIEVE RT RX; same type.
Same legend and type. (Pl. IV. 22). 6 specimens.
43. C SIE FRE; same type.
+ED IVI CEC IVI; same type (Pl. IV. 23). 3 specimens.

For these interesting coins I claimed an English Northumbrian origin, from the moment of my first acquaintance with them, in the spring of 1841; and in advancing this claim,²⁵ after the publication of the first part of Mr. Hawkins' paper, I had the support of the leading numismatists of the Continent, amongst whom I may mention particularly Thomsen of Copenhagen, and De Longperier of Paris.

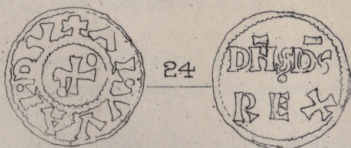
²⁵ In the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. v., p. 105.



SIEVERT or SIEFRED



ALVVALDVS.



My arguments are these:—

1. In any large find of mediæval coins the bulk is generally of the coinage of the country. If there be any admixture of the coinage of other kingdoms, it is also a general rule that the nearer any such kingdom is to that in which the treasure is found, the greater will be the proportion of the coinage of that kingdom; and, with regard to time, the coins which had been longest in circulation when the hoard was lost or hidden, and those which had been most recently minted, will be the fewest. Now, of the undoubtedly English coins, found at Cuerdale, the proportion of the coins of Ælfred to those of Eadweard, about 900 to 50, shows that this treasure was deposited very early in the reign of the latter, say about A.D. 901. At that time England was divided into three kingdoms, Wessex, East Anglia, and Northumberland; and as this hoard was within the limits of the last,²⁶ not only should the bulk be English, but of this again, the bulk should be Northumbrian. So it was, if the coins above described belong to Northumberland. Out of the number examined by Mr. Hawkins (by some hundreds less than the whole), there were; of

Cnut, Siefred, and ecclesiastical coins	3016
Ælfred and Eadweard	966
Æthelred and Ethelstan of East Anglia	27
Ceolwulf of Mercia, and Earl Sitric	4
Ceolnoth, Ethered, and Plegmund, Archbishops of Canterbury	67
The money of S. Eadmund	1815
French coins, including 23 blundered imitations of coins of Cnut, Ælfred, and Ethelstan	1047
	<hr/>
	6942

If these coins be English, the proportion of English to French money in this hoard is 5894 to 1047; if they be French, it is 2878 to 4063. *Primâ facie*, then, the abundance of them in this hoard is sufficient to establish a strong probability that they are English; and, if English, Northumbrian; since they outnumber all the other English coins put together.

2. The pennies of Cnut and Siefred weigh from 20 to 23 grains, and the halfpennies 9 to 10 grains; and in this respect correspond with the

²⁶ The authority of the third scribe of MS. A., who wrote whilst Northumberland was still a kingdom, seems to me decisive as to the fact, that Lancashire formed part thereof. He says that King Eadweard, A.D. 922, built, occupied, and garrisoned a burgh at Thelwall on the Mersey, and, whilst he was there, commanded the Mercians to take possession of Manchester in Northumberland.

English money of the time. The deniers of the cotemporary French kings average 26 grains.

3. Two coins appeared in this hoard with +ELFRED RE round a small cross on the obverse, and CNVT REX, as on No. 1, on the reverse. Now the dies of these coins were not engraved by the moneyers who executed the coins of Cnut, which they resemble; for the workmanship is not so neat, and the inner circle is plain, not beaded as it is on all the coins of this class. On the other hand their execution is so similar to that of many of Ælfred's coins, that there can be little doubt that they were minted by his authority and within his dominions; and it is difficult to account for the occurrence of the name and title of Ælfred on one side, and those of Cnut on the other, otherwise than by supposing that they were minted under the joint authority of the two kings. Cnut must have had friendly relations with Ælfred, as Ethelstan of East Anglia and Guthfrith of Northumberland had.

4. These coins do not at all resemble those of the cotemporary kings of France, but there are two remarkable points of correspondence between some of these and the coins of Ethelstan of East Anglia, and of Ælfred. The first is a peculiarity, observable on almost every coin of the series, the division of the legend on the obverse or reverse, or on both, generally into four groups, so as to give to the type a cruciform appearance; sometimes into three. Precisely the same device appears on the coins of Ethelstan and of Ælfred, but on no other, English or foreign. Again, the obverse type of Nos. 38 to 43 is precisely the same as the reverse of some of the Oxford money of Ælfred, and the obverse of a unique halfpenny, unquestionably English, which reads EVERAT on one side and ME FECIT on the other. The Carolingian monogram, on some of the *Ebraice* pennies and halfpennies, and *Cunnetti* halfpennies, appears also on some of the S. Peter money (coined at York), and on the rude pennies of Regnald, which I shall presently describe.

5. About one-fifth of the coins of Cnut, and one-third of those of Siefred, bear the name of the mint, *Ebraice* or *Ebraece*. This can only be York, the British name of which was Cair Ebrauc. On the S. Peter money, first minted in the 10th century, soon after the time of the deposit of this hoard, it is generally *Eborace*; but on one variety, which resembles the above-noticed coins of Cnut in presenting the Carolingian monogram, it is *Ebraicit*; and we shall have occasion to notice in the sequel a coin of Anlaf, in which *Ebr* undoubtedly designates the mint of York.

Slight resemblances in workmanship may be traced between some of these coins, and those of cotemporary French kings; but generally they are much neater and sharper, and the points of connexion between them

and the money of our own country are far more numerous and striking. Even these resemblances, such as they are, do not afford a valid ground for transferring them from our own numismatic series to that of France; for there can be no doubt that French moneyers were employed in England towards the close of the 9th century. I believe that Ælfred's moneyers *Ferlus*, *Stefanus*, and *Winigerus*, who write their names in the Latin form, came from France; and the S. Eadmund money, indisputably an English currency, appears to have been almost entirely the work of French artists. On these coins we have five names, at the most, which may be English,—*Eadret*, *Edulfus*, *Edwinus*, *Oswulf*, and *Wigbaldus*,—and some of these I suspect are French; two Irish,—*Aolbran* and *Ouran*; three Danish,—*Arus* (*Are* Latinized), *Asten*, and *Basic*; but the rest are French names,—*Abbo*, *Abbonel*, *Adalbert*, *Adalar*, *Adalart*, *Adradus*, *Albrt*, *Ansered*, *Ansicar*, *Bado*, *Berincari*, *Beslin*, *Bosccin*, *Dagemond*, *Deinolt*, *Ergemond*, *Erlefred*, *Erlefran*, *Fredemund*, *Gislefredo*, *Gundbert*, *Haiebert*, *Martinus*, *Oandbert*, *Odo*, *Odulbert*, *Osbert*, *Parus*, *Rather*, *Remigius*, *Robertus* & *Roidibert*, *Tedredo*, *Tedwinus*, *Walter*, *Wandefred*, *Widald*, *Widbold*, *Wiedulf*, *Wineger*, and many others; and one writes “Wulfold mi fiet” in French, for “me fecit.” Under these circumstances, it is not strange that the S. Eadmund coins should resemble, as they do, the cotemporary coins of France. I regard the idea of this coinage as French, and attribute its execution to French artists who accompanied the Danes on their return to England in A.D. 892. I believe it was begun in the dominions of the martyred king whose name it bears; and some specimens, which read HEMNXX REXE, seem to reveal the name, *Heming*, of the king who conducted the great fleet on that occasion, and who is said in the Chronicle, A.D. 894 (893), to have been disabled by his wounds from co-operating with Hæsten. But it was imitated by Ælfred at Canterbury and elsewhere, and by the Northumbrians also; for ERIACECIV, which is the legend on the reverse of some specimens, will be recognized at once as one of the blundered spellings of *Ebraice*.

As, then, French moneyers, in considerable number, were at work in England, we cannot be surprised that their influence should extend to Northumberland, and be the occasion of Siefred's name, on the greater part of his coinage, assuming the Latin form.

Thus the number of the coins of this class found at Cuerdale; their weight; their types; the name of the city in which many of them were minted; and the occurrence, on two specimens, of the names of Cnut and Ælfred together; concur to establish their English Northumbrian origin; and the slight resemblance which may be traced, between some of them and the coins of France, is easily accounted for.

It is obvious that the time, during which they were issued, could have little exceeded the last decade of the 9th century. Very few indeed of the Cuerdale coins can be referred to an earlier date than A.D. 890. There were only 24 pennies of Æthelstan of East Anglia, who died in that year, but 1815 of the S. Eadmund coins; not one of the earliest type of Ælfred's money, but 14 of that which followed it, 40 of the London type, and 832 of his latest (the Canterbury, Oxford, and common) types; of 67 coins of Archbishops of Canterbury, we have one each of Ceolnoth and Ethered, and 65 of Plegmund, consecrated A.D. 891; and whilst we have only two coins of Halfdene, and but one of these Northumbrian, we have upwards of 3000 of those of Cnut and Siefred. These two kings therefore must have been reigning between A.D. 890 and 900.

I must now call attention to the most interesting feature of this series of coins, their thoroughly religious—I may even say—ecclesiastical character. It is evident, either that the kings whose names they bear were zealous christians, although undoubtedly of Danish race; or that the Church had great influence during their reigns: and I think that the coins which have the legend, *DomīNuS DeuS Omnipotens REX MIRABILIA FECIT*, must have reference to some event, which was regarded as an extraordinary interposition of Divine Power.

Of the identity of Siefred there can be no doubt. He is the Sigferth who appears as the leader of the Northumbrian Danes in 893-4, two years before the death of Guthfrith, and who therefore was probably in some way or other associated with him. His coins are evidence that he reigned for some years. The Irish Annals have told us of a Sitric who was his rival in 893, and who perished in 896, the year of Guthfrith's death; and to him I believe we must assign the coin, of which two specimens occurred in the Cuerdale hoard, and which presents the only instance, before the Norman conquest, of a layman, inferior in rank to the king, coining money in his own name.

Obv: SITRIC COMES; in two lines.

Rev: GYNDIBERTVS; in two lines; SCELDFOR between them. (H. 56).

The type of this piece connects the Oxford type of Ælfred with those of Siefred, 38 to 43; the mint is probably Shelford, in Nottinghamshire, (Sceldford in Domesday); the moneyer's name, (the English form of which, of course, would be Guthberht), is that of one of the foreigners who coined the S. Eadmund money.

Who, then, is Cnut? He can be no other than Guthfrith. The number of his coins, and the variety of their types shew that he

must have reigned for some years; he could not therefore have intervened between Guthfrith and Siefred.

The coins which were issued in his name and Siefred's, but do not give to the latter the title of king, compared with others on which Siefred, using the same dies for an obverse, places his title on the reverse, and with others on which the obverse presents his name and title as usual, shew that he was associated with Cnut towards the end of his reign, and immediately succeeded him.

We have a right to expect the money of Guthfrith in this hoard, but we have it not, unless these coins be his. We have many of Siefred or Sigeferth, and many more of a king who was his immediate predecessor, but none with the name of Guthfrith, although he reigned for eleven years in peace. The Cnut, whose name these coins bear, evidently occupied Guthfrith's place in history; he was in alliance with Ælfred as Guthfrith was; and like Guthfrith, he was a zealous Christian. Moreover, if we endeavour to realize the events of A.D. 884—"Guthred ex servo factus est rex, et sedes episcopalis in Cunkecestra restauratur;" the fugitives of Lindisfarne, after eight years' weary wandering, "*ante faciem barbarorum de loco ad locum*," find themselves once more established in community life, under the auspices of a divinely chosen king, and their church enriched by him with endowments such as it never had before; we must confess, that to no other events of Northumbrian history could the jubilant legend of some of these coins, "*Dominus Deus Omnipotens rex mirabilia fecit*," more fitly apply.

Under all these circumstances, I cannot hesitate in avowing my conviction, long since formed and matured by years, that Cnut is Guthfrith, and I have no difficulty in accounting for the difference of name. The historical name of Ælfred's godson, not only in the English Chronicle, but in the treaty which he made with Ælfred, is Godrum or Guthrum; but the Chronicle informs us, when recording his death, that he had received in baptism another name, Æthelstan, and this he adopted on his money. So I believe that Guthfrith, known only by this name to the Chroniclers, may also have taken the name of Cnut, when he became a Christian, and coined money under this name; and I think that Simeon's statement, that he was the son of Hardecnut, may have originated, either with him, or before his time, in the misapprehension of a scribe, translating, from dictation, some such words as these, "*he súna hátte Cnut*," "*he was forthwith named Cnut*."²⁷ He was really a son of Ivar.

²⁷ Similar mistakes occur elsewhere in Simeon. Under A.D. 749 he says, "*Elfwald rex Orientalium Anglorum defunctus est, regnumque Hunbeanna et Alberht sibi dividerunt*." The name of the king, as shewn by his coins, was Benna or Beonna, and there can be no doubt, as Mr. Thorpe has suggested, that the reading in the original was "*after him Beanna and Æthelberht fengon tó rice*," "*after him*" (Ælfwald) "*Beanna and Æthelberht succeeded to the kingdom*." The pronoun "*him*" has been joined to the name, making Himbeanna, and then a scribe has carelessly written Hunbeanna.

When I last wrote on this subject, (July 16, 1842), I supposed *Cunnetti* or *Cynnetti*²⁸ to be the name of a mint, and suggested its identity with the *Cunet* of Domesday, now Cound in Shropshire; but the fact that *Cunnetti* never occurs as a reverse to *Siefredus Rex* or its variations, has changed my views in this respect. Had it been the name of a mint, it seems to me that we ought to have found it on some of the coins of Siefred; since we have it on more than 1900 of those of his predecessor; and besides this, it would have been very strange that the quantity of the money issued in Cnut's reign, from an obscure mint, should have been four times greater than that from the mint of York. Under these circumstances I feel sure that it is the name of some prince who was associated with Guthfrith-Cnut in the government, as Siefred was, and who either died before Siefred's elevation, or was supplanted by him; for it will be observed that this name occurs as a reverse to all the types of Cnut, and *Siefredus* only to one.

Cunnetti, then, I take to be a personal name, and the occurrence of such a name on these coins is a most interesting fact, for it is not Teutonic, but undoubtedly Celtic. It is a name which occasionally occurs in history, under the Welsh forms *Cunedag* and *Cunedda*, and the Irish *Cinneittigh* (with many variations);²⁹ and is still a family name, Kennedy (O'Kennedy). If Guthfrith was, as we have reason to believe, a prince of the dynasty who reigned over the Danes of Dublin, taken captive and brought to Northumberland, the occurrence of such a name as this upon his coins, indicating the high rank of an Irish prince at his court, second only to himself, during the greater part of his reign, is easily accounted for. The Irish annals shew that many of the native kings and princes were, as suited their convenience, the allies or the enemies of the Danish invaders of their country;³⁰ the Danes had not a keener relish for a fight than they had; and when a Danish fleet sailed to England, their Irish neighbours gladly availed themselves of an opportunity so congenial to them.

²⁸ On Northumbrian coins V represents U and Y; thus CVNVVLF is *Cynwulf*, CVNEMVND *Cynemund*.

²⁹ Ceindeittich	Cindedid	Cindeittigh	Cinneidig
Ceinnedi	Cindeidig	Cinnedi	Cinneittich
Ceinnedigh	Cindeitig	Cinnedid	Cheinneittig
Ceinneittig	Cindeittid	Cinnedig	Cuineda
Cenneitig	Cindeittig	Cinneidid	Cuinedha

Most of these variations are taken from the Annals of the Four Masters. None of them can be considered coæval with the coins.

³⁰ See, for instance, the quotation above, from the Annals of the Four Masters, under A.D. 947. Congalach is the ally of Anlaf and of the Danes of Dublin, and shares in their defeat; then he turns round upon them, and plunders Dublin.

Two Kennedys figure in these annals, in the latter half of the ninth century; and one of these, under circumstances which render the supposition of his identity with our Cunnetti by no means improbable.⁸¹

"A.D. 860 (863). Destruction of Longpuirt Rothlaib," (Dunrally, Q. Co.) "by Cindeittid mac Gaithin, lord of Laigis," (Leix, Q. Co.)

"A.D. 864 (866). A slaughter was made of the foreigners, by the people of the north of Osraige," (Ossory), "and Cinneidig mac Gaithin, at Mindroichet," (Monadrehid, Q. Co.)

"A.D. 865 (867). The burning of Duine Amlaib at Cluain Dolcain," (Clondalkin), by Mac Gaitene.—A victory was gained by Mac Gaithin over the foreigners of At Cliat, wherein fell Odolb Micle."

"A.D. 868 (870). The Leinstermen attacked the fort of Cearbaill, and of Mac Gaiten, and many men were slain by them."

"A.D. 875 (878). The plundering of Ua Ceinsealaig by Cindeidig mac Gaeithin, lord of Laoigis."

Actively engaged in the wars of his time, up to this date, he appears no more for twenty-five years, when his death is recorded;

"A.D. 898 (903). Cinneidig mac Gaoithin, lord of Laighis and of the Comanns, died;"

but it is possible that he had taken part in the affair, A.D. 886 (889), in which

"Cionaed mac Cennedid, heir apparent of Laoigis, was slain."

Thus there is time for his presence in Northumberland during the greater part of the reign of Cnut, who, in Ireland, was probably engaged in conflict with him in 867; and when we consider that our Cunnetti must have been an Irish prince, the supposition of his identity with Cinneidig mac Gaithen, almost the only one of the name who is mentioned in the annals of his time, does not seem very improbable. The battle in which his son was slain might be the occasion of his leaving Ireland.

I think I can trace the history of our Cunnetti still farther, and still within the absence of Cinneidig's name, from the annals of his country. Let us turn to the history of France for an account of the "feeless" band, who went from Northumberland to the Seine in 896. The Chronicle of S. Vedast's monastery, at Arras, says,

"A.D. 896. The Normans with their leader, Hunedeus by name, again entered the Seine with five barks, and whilst the King is occupied with other affairs, he occasions great evil to increase for himself and his kingdom."—"The Normans being now multiplied, entering the Oise a few

⁸¹ The other is Cindeitig mac Cinaed, lord of Ui Briuin, slain in 892.

days before the Nativity of our Lord, fortify for themselves a settlement at Choisy, no one resisting."

"A.D. 897. Afterwards they went out to plunder as far as the Maas, no one resisting them; but, as they returned from plundering, the King's army met them, yet gained no advantage. The Normans, however, betook themselves to their ships, and returned to the Seine, fearing the multitude of the army, lest they should be besieged; and, abiding there the whole summer, made predatory excursions, no one resisting them. But Charles received Hunedeus who had been brought to him, from the sacred font in the monastery of Clunium."—"The Normans in great force ravage all the rest of the kingdom with fire and sword, wherefore the King sent to them wishing to redeem the kingdom, and, a treaty being made, they go to the Loire to winter."

This Chronicle ends in A.D. 900, and is therefore a strictly cotemporary and trustworthy authority for these events.

Here, then, at the very time when Cunnetti disappears from the Northumbrian coinage, to be replaced by Siefred, and the sons of Guthfrith-Cnut fly for safety to France, Hunedeus appears on the Seine, the leader of the band which fled from Northumberland, with a small fleet of but five ships. It can scarcely be said that the names are different (the aspirate merely replacing the guttural), and it seems to me exceedingly probable that Cunnetti and Hunedeus are one and the same person, notwithstanding the fact that this Hunedeus submitted to be baptized. The Northmen of those days had no objection to the repetition of baptism, provided that each repetition were accompanied with suitable gifts, and a chieftain, such as Cinneidig mac Gaithin was in his native land, and as this Hunedeus was in France, would scarcely be more scrupulous than they, whose mode of life he had adopted. This is the only difficulty; and, whatever may be thought of it, the probability that this Hunedeus is our Cunnetti, (resting on the fact, that he appears as the leader of a forlorn squadron from Northumberland immediately after the disappearance of our Cunnetti, the death of his lord and friend Guthfrith Cnut, the usurpation of Siefred, and the flight of Guthfrith's family to France), is entirely distinct from the probability that our Cunnetti is Cinneidig mac Gaithin, (suggested by the circumstances that Cinneidig and Guthfrith must have been cotemporaries in Ireland, and at one time probably in conflict with one another, that Cinneidig's name, not once mentioned during the previous ten years, disappears from the Irish annals after the disastrous affair in which his son was slain, A.D. 889, until the year in which his death is recorded, A.D. 903, and that an Irish prince of the same name appears at this time, A.D. 890 to 896, associated with Guthfrith-Cnut in Northumberland).

Besides the coins described above, of Northumbrian mintage, the

Cuerdale hoard contained some barbarous imitations, with the name of the mint of Quantawic (now Etaples) on the reverse.

- a.* +CIRTENA; a Calvary cross.
+QVENTOVICI; a cross. (H. 136). 4 specimens.
- b.* +CIRTENA; a small cross with a crenate line issuing from each limb, a pellet in each angle.
+QVIEITOVICI; same type. (H. 137). 6 specimens.
- c.* C+IRTENA; a cross with a pellet in each angle.
+QIVEIITOVICI; same type. (H. 138). 8 specimens.
- d.* +ITOEIINC; a cross.
+QVIIITOVCI; same type. (H. 139). 1 specimen.

Besides four others, differing in the blundering of the obverse legend. There were also two others, which must be mentioned in connexion with these.

AELRF—REX; front of a temple.

+QVENTOVVICI; a cross with a pellet in each angle.

EDENAT REX; same type.

+QVVENTOVVICI; same type.

I have engraved both these in my memoir on the coins of Ælfred; they are of great importance, inasmuch as they make known to us the existence of types of Ælfred, and of Æthelstan³² of East Anglia (identical with those of Oswald and of Æthelred), of which they are blundered imitations, and of which English specimens have not yet been discovered. So also, whilst *c* and *d*, above, are blundered copies of the coins of Cnut, Nos. 4 and 5, *a* and *b* are copies of other types, earlier than any of those found at Cuerdale. It is evident that the Northmen,—either that force which was engaged with Ælfred in A.D. 884, off the East Anglian coasts, or some other, later,—carried English money with them to France, and during the winter of A.D. 890-1, when they occupied the neighbourhood of Quantawic, caused these barbarous imitations to be minted there. They are certainly imitations of English, not of French coins, for on all the French coins of the temple type, the temple is on the reverse. It is never on the obverse, accompanying the king's name and title as on these coins, and on those of Oswald and Æthelred.

I do not think that the coins of Cnut and Siefred with the reverses *Dns Ds Rex*, and *Mirabilia fecit* are (as I once supposed), the result of

³² Not one of the English coins of Æthelstan presents the name correctly. We have EDELIA, EDELTA, EDELTAN, EDELSAN, EDELSANV, and EDIAELMA, but not EDEISTAN. Here it is EDETAN (the latter half reversed, as on the coins of Halfdene and of Siefred, noticed above). On a London penny of Ælfred we have AELRFED.

a confusion of dies, for I observe that all the coins, on which we have *Dns Ds O Rex* combined with *Mirabilia fecit*, have the obverse legend in two lines, and the O is never omitted, however blundered they may be; whereas on these *Dns Ds Rex* is always written round a cross, and the O never appears. It seems, too, that the coins with this legend in two lines, are earlier than the others, and therefore that the coin which I formerly assigned to Æthelwald (when I regarded Cnut as Siefred's successor), must be earlier than the reign of Cnut.

+ALVVALDV; a cross with a pellet in two opposite quarters.
DNS DS REX; in two lines. (Pl. IV. 24.)

Here, then, most probably, we have the name of the king, whose reign intervened between Halfdene's and Guthfrith's. This coin has not the neatness and sharpness which distinguish the coins of Cnut, but more resembles, in execution, those of Oswald and Æthelred, and that on which the names of Ælfred and Cnut occur together.

In taking leave of these coins, I may remark, that some of their types were copied, in the 10th century, by the Dukes of Normandy. A denier of Richard I. or II. exhibits on its reverse the cross on steps of Siefred; and a cotemporary, apparently ecclesiastical, coin of Rouen, the cross with one limb crossed of Cnut.

Æthelwald, Osbrith, and Eowisl do not appear to have coined money in their own names, but during their time a series of coins were issued from the ecclesiastical mint of York, of which the idea was probably suggested by the S. Eadmund money. The general description is—

SCI PETRI MO; in two lines.
+EBORACE CIV; a small cross. (Ruding, Pl. XII, 6 to 13).

The time of their mintage is certain, for a number of them were found in the year 1611, at Harkirk, in the parish of Sefton, in Lancashire, along with others of the latest and Oxford type of Ælfred, of Eadward, of the S. Eadmund money, and of Cnut. The coin in Ruding, Pl. xxx. 3, with *Ebraicit* and the monogram KRLS on the reverse, is a connecting link between these, and the coins above described. I have seen a coin of this class, on which S. Peter's emblem, a key, is introduced as an accessory ornament on the obverse, and another (I think in the York Museum), on which a large key, between the two lines of the legend, forms a distinct type.

The following coins I assign to Regnald:—(Plate V.)

1 & 2. +RAHENALT; a face in profile turned to the right or left.
+EARIC FCT; the monogram ERLS.

RAGNOLT.



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10

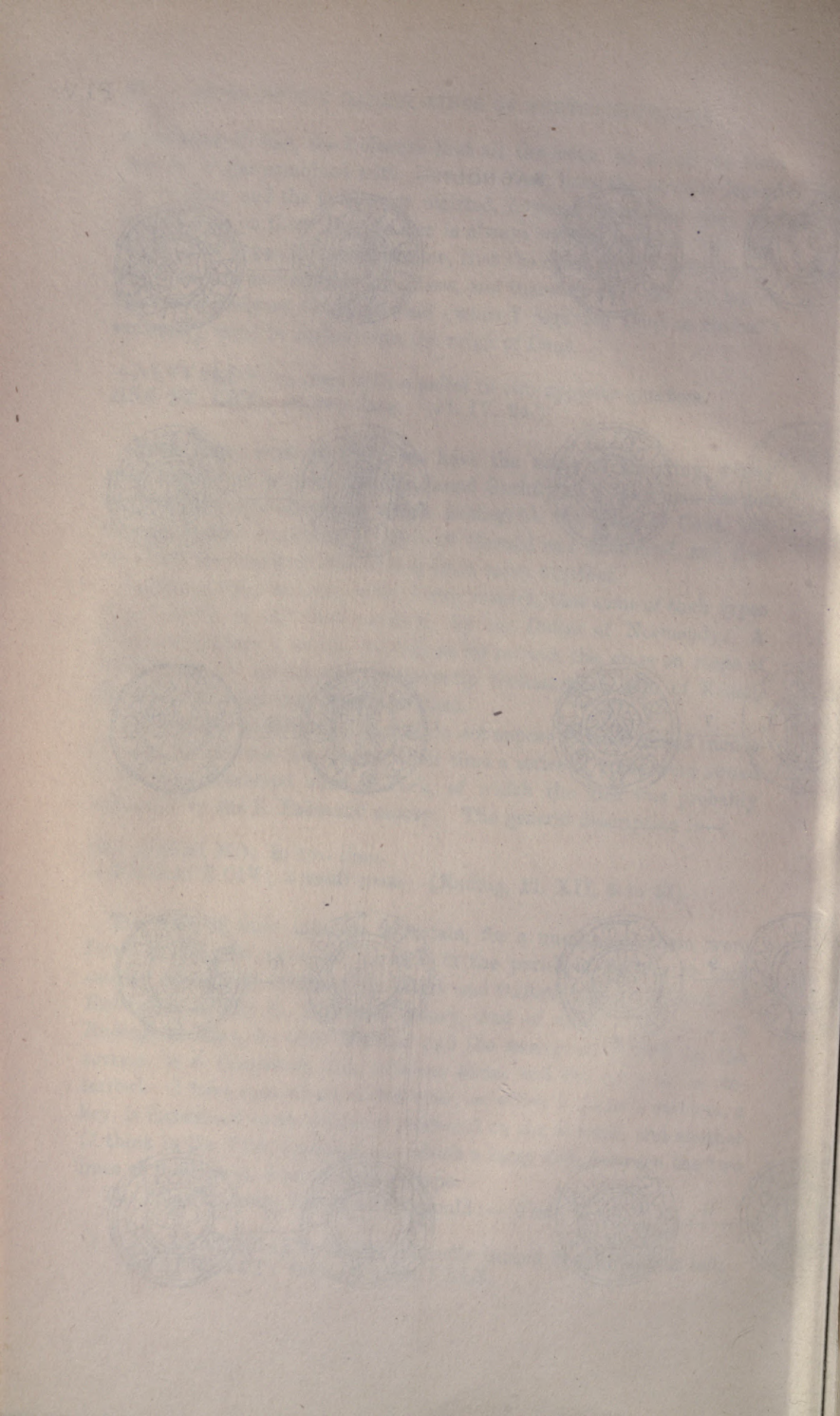


11



12





3. +RACNOLT; a hand.
+RXEACIOIT; same type.
4. Same legend and type.
+EIOIACII; a different monogram.
5. +ICAOETI; same type.
+EIARIC FCT; the monogram ERLS:
6. +RANOCIT; same type.
+CIOACECA; same type.
7. +RACNOLT; same type.
+EIORACII; same type.
8. +RACNTII; same type.
+EIORACII; same type.
9. +RACNOLT; same type.
Same legend and type.
10. +RACNOLT; a Tau.
+RABIOCIT; a bow and arrow.

Of these ten coins, two read *Rahenalt*, five *Racnolt*, one *Ranoclt*, one *Racntii*, on the obverse; and, although the title *Rex* does not appear, it is not the name of a moneyer, for the moneyer's name, *Earic* or *Eiaric*, with *fecit*, appears on 1, 2, and 5, and in a blundered form on 3. It can only be the name of the prince by whose authority they were coined.

The reverse legend of 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9 is intended for *Eborace*. Nearly all have the monogram which we have already noticed on the coins of Cnut.

As a connecting link between these and the following, I must notice here a coin figured in Mr. Lindsay's "View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy," (Pl. 2, 52).

- +EIOIAIE AIE; a sword.
+EIOICIACIA; a Tau.

The legend, retrograde, on both obverse and reverse, is intended for *Eborace civ*.

The following belong to Sihtric:—(Plate VI.)

1. [+S]ITR[I]C RE; in two lines, a sword between them.
∴ ARE MON; a Tau between two crescents.
Although this coin is broken, there can be no doubt of the reading.
2. Similar type; legend, intended for SITRIC RE, blundered.
Thor's hammer, between two billets; legend intended for INGELGAR MON.
3. LVDO SITRC; similar type; Thor's hammer introduced as an accessory ornament.
+ERIC MOTI; a cross with crescents and pellets in alternate quarters.

The word *Ludo*, on the obverse of this coin, indicates, I think, the mint, Leeds; the arrangement is similar to that of Ælfred's coins, *Ælfred Oksnaforda*.

The moneyer *Are* was employed by Æthelstan and Eadmund; *Eric* is the same as *Earic* and *Eiaric*, on the coins of Regnald.

After the death of Sihtric, a second series of the S. Peter money seems to have been issued from the mint of York, of which the general description is,

SCI PETRI MO in two lines; a sword between them; Thor's hammer introduced as an accessory ornament.
+EBORACE CIV; a cross with a pellet in each quarter. (Ruding, Pl. XII., 1 to 4).

There are also blundered coins with the same obverse, and on the reverse Thor's hammer, with the legends +ERIVIITCI, +ERIVIITN, +ERIVITN, +ERIVIOI, &c. (Ruding, Pl. XII., 5); and others with a Tau and +IOBEYRIT, +LBIOEVITR, &c. It is impossible to make *Eborace* out of these legends.

In connection with these, also, I must mention the exceedingly rare coins of Lincoln :

SCI MARTI, in two lines; a sword between them; below them, a Tau.

+LINCOIA CIVIT; a peculiar cross, of a form frequently found on the Runic monuments of Scandinavia, and also in the inscription over the door of Kirkdale Church, in Yorkshire (in which Hawarth, a Dane, records the rebuilding of the church under the auspices of Orm Gamalsuna, also a Dane), but nowhere else.

Lincoln at this time was a Danish burgh, and I believe that all these coins were minted under Danish influence, at a time when the succession of the Kings was interrupted.

Æthelstan himself coined money at York; some of it with a church on the reverse, and the legend EBORAĊAĊ REGNALD MON; but he did not adopt the Northumbrian types.

The evidence of the coins now to be described is decisive as to the fact that an Eric reigned in Northumberland before Olaf, for the supposition (on which alone they could be assigned to Eric, son of Harold Blátand), that the sword type was abandoned under the reign of Olaf, and then resumed, appears to me exceedingly improbable. I believe it commenced with Sihtric, and was continued by his subjects after his death, and then by Eric I., the son of Barith, who was slain at Brunanburh.



1



2



ERIC



3



4



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12



13



14



15



We have two distinct types bearing this name.

I. *Obv.* The King's name and title in two lines, a sword between them.

Rev. The moneyer's name round a small cross.

Of these I have engraved the following varieties (Pl. VI.):—

1. ERIC REX	+ACVLF MON
2. ERIC REX AT	+RADVLF MEOI
3. ERIC REX	+INGELGAR MI
4. "	+LEOFIC MONE
5. "	+INGÆLGAR

At is the only mint.

Of his moneyers, *Ingelgar* and *Radulf* were employed by his successors, and the former by Eadmund and Eadred; *Leofic* by Eadmund.

II. *Obv.* The King's name and title round a small cross.

Rev. The moneyer's name in two lines.

Of these I give the following (Pl. VI.):—

6. +ERIC REX A	INGELGAR MO
[6a. +ERIC REX AL	INGELGAR MO ³³]
7. +ERIC REX EF	INGELGAR M
8. ————— EFOR	RADVLF MO
9. ————— EN	INGELGAR MO
10. ————— NO	————— M
11. ————— O	RADVLF MO
12. ————— TO	INGELGAR MO

On these we have the initials of six mints, in which two moneyers, *Ingelgar* and *Radulf*, were employed. I think there can be no doubt that the same two worked in all, accompanying the King in his progress. The former class I assign confidently to Eric I., the son of Barith; and the latter I assign to Eric II., the son of Harald Haarfager, rather than to Eric III., the son of Harald Blatand.

Simeon of Durham tells us that Olaf, the son of Guthfrith II., perished immediately after the devastation of Tiningham. In the course of the destruction of the parish church of Leeds, many fragments of memorial crosses were discovered, of ante-Norman times, but apparently of later and coarser work than those at Ruthwell, Bewcastle,

³³ This coin has been added to the British Museum collection since my plates were engraved.

Collingham, Ilkley, &c.; and on one of these was part of an inscription in Runes.

CUNIng³⁴
ONLAF

Although Leeds is very distant from Tiningham, it is possible that this cross may be a memorial of this Olaf; but as he does not appear to have ever reigned in Northumberland, and was probably engaged in piracy, from the time of his leaving Dublin to that of his death, I think it more likely that this is part of an inscription, which recorded the erection of this monument, to the memory of some friend, by the son of Sihtric, the only Olaf who ever reigned in Northumberland, and the only one who embraced Christianity, to whom I assign the whole series of the coins which bear this name. (Pl. VII.)

1. +ANLAF REX EBR; a small cross.
INGELGAR; a flower.
2. +ANLAF REX TOD; same type.
RADVLF; same type.
- [2a. +Ruding has figured another of these with the moneyer WADTER. The type is one which was used by Æthelstan and Eadmund.]
3. +ONLOF REX I; a small cross.
BACIALER; in two lines.
4. +ONLAF REX; same type.
INGELGAR MO; same type.
5. +ONLAF REX T; same type.
+FARMON MONE; a small cross.
- [5a. A coin of this moneyer in the British Museum has +ONLAF REX S on the obverse.]
6. +ONLAF REX O; same type.
+INGELGAR O; same type.
7. +ANLAF CVNVNC^o; same type.
+SICARES MOT; same type, M in the field.
8. +ANLAF CVNVNC F; same type.
+RADVLF MONETR; same type.
9. +ANLAF CVNVNC; a cross moline.
Same legend and type.
10. Same legend; a dove.
+ADELFERD MINETRET; same type.
All the coins of this type appear to have been struck by the same moneyer.
11. Same legend; a triquetra.
+FARMAN MONETA; a standard.
- [11a. A variety, in the British Museum, reads +FANLAN MON-ETA.]

³⁴ I think that the U should be Y, and that Mr. Chantrell in his drawing of the stone has overlooked the distinctive mark of the latter. I have called his attention to this point, but have not been favoured with a reply to my letters.

ANLAF



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



13



10



11



SITRIC



12



14



REGNARD



15



12. +ANLAF CVNVNC M; same type.
 +ASCOLV MONETRA; same type.

He appears to have coined in six mints. Of his eight moneyers—*Ascolv*, *Athelferd*, *Bacialer*, *Farmon* (of whose name I regard *Fanlan* as a blundered variety), *Ingelgar*, *Radulf*, *Sicar*, and *Wadter*,—the second was employed by Æthelstan; the third, fourth, and seventh by Eadmund; and the first by Eadwig; the fifth and sixth have been noticed above.

The coins with the title *Cununc* I refer to Olaf's second reign in Northumberland, and the following to the same time:—

- +SITRIC CVNVNCA; a triquetra.
 +ASCOLV MONETRA; a standard.
 +REGNOLD CVNVNC; a cross moline.
 +AVRA MONETREL; a small cross.
 +REG(NALD) CVNVNC; a triquetra.
 +B(ALDRI)C MOTRAL; a standard.

Sitric, I believe, was Olaf's brother. He is mentioned in the Irish Annals, as having been taken as a hostage by Muircertach mac Neill, in 941; and the death of Muircertach by the hands of Blacaire, King of the Danes of Dublin, in 943, would of course set him at liberty. Their brother Guthferth succeeded Blacaire in 948, and reigned in Dublin during Olaf's absence in Northumberland.

Regnald must be the son of Olaf, whose fall in the battle of Tara, in 980, seems to have been the occasion of his father's retiring to Iona.

I have deferred the examination of the types of these coins, until I could speak of them together. They are very interesting, and illustrate remarkably the history of these Northumbrian kings.

1. *The hammer of Thor*. There can be no doubt that this is the object intended by the device on two of the coins of Sihtric, and on the later types of the S. Peter money. Little hammers of this form seem to have been worn as amulets; there are three or four in the Old Northern Museum at Copenhagen, one attached to a ring, all intended to be so; and one was found with the Cuerdale coins. This hammer, celebrated under the name of Miölnr, was one of the three masterpieces of the Dwarfs Brokkur and Sindri. Its virtues were said to have been such, that Thor might strike whatever he pleased, and as vigorously as he pleased, without danger of injuring it: he might throw it to whatever distance he pleased, and it would always come back to his hand; and he could make it so small, at will, that it would easily go into his pocket. It had only one defect; its handle was very short; and this feature seems to have been attended to in the representations on these coins.

Now Thor was the chief god of the old Teutonic race. His name stands first in the Saxon renunciation, "Ec forsacho Thunaer ende Woden ende Saxnote." Adam of Bremen tells us that his image occupied the place of honour between those of Wodan and Frizzo, in the great temple at Upsala, because he was the mightiest of the three; and the story, which Simeon tells, of Onlaf "the hold," swearing enmity to the clergy of the church of S. Cuthbert, by his gods "Thor and Othan," shews that he stood first in the estimation of the Danish rulers of Northumberland. So this dynasty, the race of Ivar, whose seat of empire was alternately Dublin and York; who quitted Dublin when the Northumbrians invited them, and resumed their authority in Dublin when they were compelled to abandon Northumberland, are called, in verses quoted by the Four Masters, A.D. 942 (944), *muintir Thomair*, i.e. the "people," or "race," or "descendants of Thomair," and they cherished, as their greatest treasure, the "ring of Tomair," or Thor.³⁵

This was doubtless the very same "holy ring," on which they swore to keep their treaty with Ælfred, when they were in England in 876; for we read in the Eyrbyggja Saga, that, when Thorolf went to Iceland, in A.D. 883, (carrying with him, from the isle of Mostur, the framework and the columns of the temple of Thor,) and there rebuilt the temple, this temple contained an altar on which a silver ring was laid, two ounces in weight, to be worn by the priest in every public assembly, and to be used, after having been dipped in the blood of sacrifices, in the administration of solemn oaths.³⁶ This holy ring of Thor, therefore, was one of the instruments of his worship, and would be kept in the same way in all his temples, and so also in their own temple by the sons of Ivar.

These facts sufficiently explain the presence of Thor's chief symbol, the hammer, on the coins of Sihtric, and on those which, although they bear the name of S. Peter, were doubtless coined under Danish influence

³⁵ Dr. O'Donovan confounds this name, Thomair, with that of Tomrair, the Earl, tanist of the King of Lochlann, who was slain in 848; and supposes that the Kings of Dublin, who were certainly descended from Iomair or Ivar, were also descended from Tomrair. But Tomrair and Thomair are certainly distinct names. The former is the Irish orthography of the common Scandinavian name Thorer, and Thomair is the Irish form of Thor. The original name of the god was Thunaer, contracted in the Norse dialects to Thor, just as Anlaf is contracted to Olaf, by the absorption of *n*; and Thunaer, Thor, Thomair, is exactly parallel to Anlaf, Olaf, Amlaib, and Inwær, Ivar, Iomair.

³⁶ Arngrim Ionas tells us the same thing, *Rerum Islandicarum*, I., 7. "In ara præterea annulus asservabatur argenteus, vel ex orichalco, unciorum XX, quem forensi aliquo munere fungentes, jusjurandum jam præstituri, victimarum illinitum cruore religiose inter jurandum contrectabant."

after his death ; and they suggest the explanation of another type, that of the coins of Ragnolt ;

2. *The glove, also a symbol of Thor.* His iron gloves, also the gift of the Dwarfs, are often mentioned in the mythology of the North. He handled them whenever he grasped his lightning-flashing hammer.

3. *The tau.* From the way in which it is interchanged with the hammer on some of S. Peter money, and takes its place on the S. Martin coins, I regard it as a modification of the same symbol.

4. *The bow and arrow.* I cannot explain this otherwise than by supposing it to be the symbol of the hunting god ; the archer, Uller ; the son of Thor's wife Sif, by a former husband.

5. *The sword.* This has generally been thought to be a symbol of S. Peter, but it is to be observed that it occurs also on the coins of S. Martin, where the same explanation will not hold good. We see it first on a blundered coin resembling those of Ragnolt, then on the coins of Sihtric, then on those of S. Peter and S. Martin, and lastly on the first type of Eric. The Annals of the Four Masters furnish the clue to the true explanation of this interesting device, and at the same time of the monogram, KRLS, which first appears on the coins of Sicfred, then on some of the S. Peter money, and lastly on the coins of Ragnolt.

"A.D. 994 (995). *The Ring of Tomair, and the Sword of Charlus*, were carried away by force, by Mhaoilsechlainn, from the foreigners of At Cliat."

"A.D. 1029. Amlaoibh mac Sitrioc, lord of the foreigners, was taken prisoner by Matgomain ua Riagain, lord of Breg, who exacted 1200 cows as his ransom, together with 140 British horses, and 60 ounces of gold, and *the Sword of Charlus*, and the Irish hostages, both of Leinster and Let Cuind, and 60 ounces of white silver as his fetter ounce, and 80 cows for word and supplication, and four hostages to O Riagain as a security for peace, and the full value of the life of the third hostage."

"A.D. 1058. Gallbrat ua Cerbaill, royal heir of Temrach, was slain by Concobar ua Maoileachlainn, by treachery. *The Sword of Carlos*, and many other precious things were obtained for him by Mac Maol na mbo, for he was the security for him."

This "sword of Carlus" was evidently an heir-loom in the family of the Danish kings of Dublin, and, after the Ring of Tomair, their most cherished treasure ; and the Latin termination of the name shews that it came originally from a king of France. There is recorded, it is true, in the Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 866 (868), the fall of "Carlus, the son of Amlaib, *i.e.* the son of the lord of the foreigners," in the battle of Killaderry (near Dublin) ; but here again the Latin form of his name indicates a connexion with a king of France, and indeed that this young prince had been baptized in France, and received in baptism the

name of the King, Charles the Bald. We have therefore to seek for an occasion in the history of France and of the family of Ragnar, to which these princes belonged,—an occasion, such as is more than once recorded in that history and our own,—when Charles the Bald made peace with this family, persuaded some of them to embrace Christianity, and bestowed upon them costly gifts. The occasion presents itself at once. Prudentius of Troyes says—

“A.D. 845. 120 ships of the Northmen penetrate to Paris, by the Seine, in the month of March, without any resistance, laying waste every thing on every side, and when Charles purposed to meet them, but found that his people could offer no effectual opposition, he prevented them from advancing, and persuaded them to depart, by certain covenants, and a gift of 7000 pounds.”

The Chronicle of Fontanelle informs us who their leader was—

“A.D. 845. Ind. VIII. Ragneri, a leader of the Northmen, came with his fleet, and advanced to Paris, and entered the same city on the Vigil of Easter, that is the 28th March.”

Nothing is said of the nature of the covenants, but we know that the Christians on these occasions always endeavoured to persuade the Pagans to embrace Christianity, and that the Pagans were usually nothing loth to receive baptism for the sake of the substantial favours which accompanied it. The day, moreover, on which the Northmen entered Paris was the great day of baptism, throughout Christendom. This expedition to France must have been the sequel to the invasion of Flanders, mentioned in the *Lodbrokar Quida*. It was followed, according to that document, by others to England, Scotland, the Orkneys, England again, the Hebrides, and then Ireland; and the last appears to be noticed in the *Annals of the Four Masters* and of *Ulster*:—

“A.D. 847 or 848 (849). A fleet of 140 ships, of the people of the king of the foreigners, came to contend with the foreigners that were in Ireland before them, so that they disturbed Ireland between them.”

This attack was renewed two years later.

A.D. 849 or 850 (851). “The Dubgoill,” (Black foreigners or Danes), “arrived in At Cliat, and made a great slaughter of the Fionngoill,” (White foreigners or Norwegians), “and plundered the fortress, both people and property. Another depredation by the Dubgoill upon the Fionngoill at Linn Duachaill, and they made a great slaughter of them.”

The Norwegians made an ineffectual attempt to recover their lost ground.

“A.D. 850 or 851 (852). A fleet of 160 ships of the Fionngoill arrived at Snam Eidneach,” (Carlingford Lough), “to give battle to the Dubgoill, and they fought with each other three days and three nights, and the Dubgoill gained the victory; the Fionngoill left their ships to them.”

In the following year Olaf arrived, and probably Ivar with him, and from this time forward the posterity of Ragnar were kings of the Danes of Dublin.

All these circumstances considered, it seems to me extremely probable, that the Sword of Carlus was originally given by Charles the Bald to one of these chieftains, and his name conferred on the son of Olaf, on the occasion of Ragnar's visit to Paris in A.D. 845; and that the sword became an heir-loom in the family of Ivar. Thus the head of the family, in Dublin or in York, would be its possessor, and the possession of it would be the symbol of sovereignty; and when we observe that the monogram KRRLS ceases on the Northumbrian coins, when the sword takes its place, it will appear more probable that the monogram was copied from this sword, than from the French coins of the time; that it was in fact the symbol of the sword on which it was engraved. We have the monogram on the coins of Guthfrith-Cnut and Ragnald, and the sword on those of Sihtric I. and Eric I., and all these were of the family of Ivar.

6. *The bird.* Its curved beak would seem to mark it as an eagle or hawk; but, this notwithstanding, I take it to be a dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit, a type afterwards adopted as the reverse of the coins of Æthelred II., which have on their obverse the “Agnus Dei.” It has been thought to be a raven, and connected with the famous standard of the sons of Ragnar, taken from them in the battle of Cynwith.

7. *The triquetra.* Whatever was the meaning of this device, it was one of old standing on the coins of Northumberland. It accompanies the dog on the sceattas of Eadberht, Alchred, Ælfwald, and the stycas of Æthelred I. (of the moneyer Leofdegn). It was also a favourite device on later coins of Danish kings.

8. *The standard.* On these coins of Olaf, Sitric, and Ragnald, it is distinctly marked with a cross; and Olaf, we know, was a Christian. In one of the plates (copied from a Visigothic MS.), in Shaw's “Dresses and Decorations,” a warrior appears holding a standard of this precise form. On a coin of Cnut the Great (moneyer BRIHTRED ON LVNden), in the Royal Cabinet at Copenhagen, the King appears

holding a standard such as this, marked with parallel bars, instead of a sceptre; and I think that sceptres were sometimes made of this form;



for amongst the treasure of silver ornaments, found at Cuerdale, there was a piece of silver which must have formed part of such a sceptre. The fringe of this is more elaborate than could be re-

presented on these coins, consisting of corded loops crossing each other, and supporting sheep's heads for tassels.

POSTSCRIPT BY THE EDITOR.

The coins enumerated and described by Lindsay, Rashleigh, and Pollexfen, have been most serviceable in preparing the following remarks. Some previous observations by the writer are repeated for clearness' sake.

No coins have occurred for the official or palatine earls of Northumberland or the owners of franchises comprised within their earldom previous to the conquest.

The scarcity of metal may have been one reason for a hiatus in the Bernician coinage generally. In the reign of Henry I. matters improved. In the celebrated pipe-roll of his 31st year, really from Sep. 1129 to Sept. 1130, the Burgesses of Carlisle accounted for 100s. the ancient farm of the Silver Mine. They had paid it into the Treasury and were acquitted. William and Hildret accounted for 40*l.*, the rent of the Silver Mine for the current year. A wonderful increase of value, not overrated, for Hildret was sheriff. In 1133, Robert de Monte chronicles that "veins of silver ore were discovered at Carlisle and the miners, who dug for it in the bowels of the earth, paid 500*l.* yearly to King Henry." The King died two years afterwards, in Dec. 1135. And the numismatic evidence is that the only Northumbrian coin (excluding Durham) which can with safety be attributed to Henry I. is of the coinage which the Watford find proved to be his last, Hawkins's No. 262, according to the Murchison Catalogue, but, if that number be scrupulously engraved and the catalogue be correct in its description, rather Ruding, Supp. pt. ii, pl. ii, fig. 7., or, more strictly, Rashleigh, No. 1 or 2. The coin was formerly in the Martin collection, and reads DVRANT . ON . CARLI.

At the very outset of Stephen's reign, at the commencement of the year 1136, the honor or earldom of Carlisle was given to Henry, son of David I. of Scotland. The first coinage of Stephen is fixed by the Watford find. In that find were coins of the type in question (Hawkins 270) struck with the name of Stephen by ERE . . L . (O)N CARD : , PILLE . O(N) CARDI : , and WILEAL(M)E ON CA(R)D : ³⁷ "There are (says Mr. Rashleigh in Num. Chron. XII.)

³⁷ Rud. I. 16, seems to be the same coin (W)IL(EAL)ME ON CA(R)D :

of the Cardiff? [Mr. R. now admits that this should be read Carlisle] mint two coins which, in the workmanship both of the head and legend, are very different from every other coin in the collection. Their peculiarities, as they extremely rare, have been hitherto unnoticed. The letters are of the character of those on the early Saxon coins, having no serifs, and the portrait considerably more rude than usual." The figure (No. 10 on Mr. R.'s plate) of Wilealme's coin gives unmistakably the general character of David I.'s head and crown. The lettering of the reverse shows a dot in the centre of O in ON, a peculiarity which we shall presently meet with again.

In the first of these names we seem to have Erkembald the father of the well known William Fitz Erkembald of the Tealby type; and the coins, though bearing Stephen's name, must surely be Prince Henry's. In 1139, after a hard fight for it, he obtained the Earldom of Northumberland, and, with it, doubtless, a vast increase of silver. We find, on Bp. Pudsey's elevation to the same earldom, that the Silver Mine, though called that of Carlisle, was in fact partly in Cumberland and partly in Northumberland, that, in plain words, it was contained in the lead of the frontier manor of Alston Moor, and that the Northumberland share was by far the richest. We need feel no surprise if the coinage followed the supply of bullion; and we gain some clue to the chronology of Stephen's types in observing that Henry's first Northumbrian coinage is of the same pattern as that at Carlisle. He chose the demesne manor of his new earldom which was nearest to the mine—a place full of old remembrances—where King John was to search for hid treasure—a decayed Roman station—an ancient borough—Corbridge. The modern name links its history with Corstopitum, the Roman station which it unquestionably represents. Yet there is ample proof that, for euphony's sake, the *r* was *l* when it had a coinage. Thus we have the expression "Colebriga civitate," temp. Stephen,³⁸ and the L is retained in the pipe-rolls down to Edward I.'s days.

Amongst the earlier ones, those of 1169 and 1175 read Colebrige. In the Bute find, ably described by the Rev. J. H. Pollexfen in Num. Chron., N.S., v., were two most interesting coins. One, reading (ST)IEFHE REX—(E)R(CEMBA)LD : ON CARD. The other HENRICVS : — ERCBOLD.O(N) COLEB :³⁹ It is impossible to doubt that the latter coin was struck at Corbridge, and it is satisfactory to find that the O has a dot in its centre like Wilealme's Carlisle money. It will be observed that the style has changed, and I am not sure whether Prince Henry did not even strike at Corbridge with the name of David his father. At least, a coin of the same first type of Stephen in the Bute find, Pollexfen's fig. 8, seems to read DAVID . R—[ER?][CBOLD . ON C..... with something like a monogram near the end of the name of the locality. Mr. P. gives several other coins of David of that English type, the legends on the reverse being illegible, one suggests Durant or Erkembald . RIN . : Q ... ON . . The letter here treated as a reversed D is

³⁸ Vita Oswini.

³⁹ The excellent plate gave the clue. That given, a squeeze adds an extra detail or two. I thank Mr. McCulloch, the curator of the Edinburgh Museum, for the impression.

in the form of a rude 6, but is hardly a G. The concluding D of the moneyer's name in the preceding coin resembles it, but the twist is thrown the contrary way.

The treaty of Durham, 1139, by which Prince Henry secured Northumberland, provided "that no interference should be attempted with the rights of the Bishop of Durham within the territory of St. Cuthbert, or of the Archbishop of York in Hexhamshire." Accordingly we have no coins of Henry struck at any of their places. "In the grant of the earldom, as recorded by Richard of Hexham an exception is made of the towns of Bamburgh and Newcastle, in lieu of which towns of equal value had to be assigned to Henry in the south of England. It is uncertain whether this stipulation was ever carried into effect as regarded the cession of towns in the south, nor do we know how long Bamburgh and Newcastle were retained by King Stephen. That they were at a later period enjoyed by the Scotch prince with the rest of the earldom is abundantly proved, although we have no direct evidence of the fact of an earlier date than A.D. 1147.—John of Hexham, who wrote somewhat later than Richard, is silent as to the exclusion of the towns of Newcastle and Bamburgh from the grant.—It may be doubted indeed whether the object of the treaty was not carried out in a different form, by allowing Henry to enjoy those towns with the remainder of the earldom, the fortifications having first been destroyed." So writes Mr. Hinde, and his evidences and reasons may be seen in the *History of Northumberland*, p. 216. As far as the coins go, they would support the conclusion that there was some lapse of time before the two towns were surrendered, the coins of Prince Henry which were not struck at Corbridge being of an entirely different type to the Corbridge and piece by a different moneyer.

They constitute the bulk of his money, and read, with little variation beyond occasional transpositions, : — · + N' : EN : CON — + WILEL : M : ONCI : B. The head on the obverse resembles that of David, though it is better finished than his. The reverse has a large cross crosslet between four crosses patee, which are connected by loops or crescents to the inner circle. Altogether they are well struck and handsome coins, very different in design and workmanship to any of the period. Mr. Lindsay engraves several, and among them one reading +STIFENE RE — + : WILEL : M : ON : ON(?)CI. Beyond proving that when it was struck Henry and Stephen were at peace, this coin probably has no actual connection with the latter. It is evidently the work of Henry's moneyer, and it is not to be supposed that Stephen, before his cession of Newcastle and Bamburgh to the owner of the rest of the earldom, would have a type in Northumberland different from that of any of his other mints. Some may regard it as struck in Stephen's last year, when Henry was dead and his younger son William, who was invested with Northumberland, was a minor. Nearly the whole of Prince Henry's coins occurred, I believe, in one find near Berwick.

The contraction at the beginning of Henry's legend is formed by a reversed N with a bar across the right-hand stroke. The want of H in foreign coins of our Henries, and the use in our chronicles of Consul for Comes, are well known. The whole legend on the obverse probably presents a formula similar to that of the commencement of a sheriff's

pipe-roll, and should be read as:—NORHUMBERLAND—ENRICUS CONSUL (or CONES, *n* or *m* being very convertible, thus Baenbure, Baembure, &c.) On the reverse the letter M is so treated as to suggest that it has to answer a double purpose; and that the legend should be read WILELMUS MONETARIUS CIVITATIS BAEMBURC (or CIVITATIS BEBBÆ), rather than in the formula WILELM ON CITEE BAEMBURC. Both readings may be objected to, but the objector must state where in the earldom but at Bamburgh can Henry's mint have been. It was not at Newcastle, for Bishop Pudsey's Boldon Buke of 1183 is express on the fact that dies were "*first placed*" there by the reigning monarch Henry II. And surely there is nothing wonderful in finding *civitas* applied to what early writers called the *urbs regia quæ a regina quadam vocabulo Bebbæ cognominatur; regia civitas, Bebbæ urbs munitissima*; Bebbanburg. These examples taken from Leland's Collectanea may suffice. The word *civitas* was largely applied and the grand old seat of the Kings and Earls of Northumberland had a good claim to it. I am aware that the final letter has been read H. I can only say that in good specimens that I have seen, the final letter is B, and poorer ones have appeared to present it also. Inchaffray, supposed to have been indicated, is not in the earldom.

As these coins were probably struck late in Stephen's reign, there does not appear any good reason to doubt that this William was William fitz Erkembald, who was lessee of the Silver Mine of Carlisle when the pipe rolls recommence in 4 Hen. II., and whose coins as moneyer of that king at Carlisle and Newcastle occur in the Tealby type, which commenced about the same time, the same roll, according to Ruding, containing an account by the Sheriff of London *pro commutatione monetæ*. This circumstance leaves it an open question whether some curious tenures at Corbridge connected with the king's moneys at Newcastle, arose with Henry II.'s establishment of a mint there, or had originally been associated with Prince Henry's mint at Corbridge. No doubt, assuming the latter to have been their true history, their holders would be glad enough to continue their service, notwithstanding the addition of a journey, rather than give up the results of their husbandry to others. The distance from Corbridge to Newcastle (17 miles) does not seem favourable to the supposition that the tenures were originally so remote from the locality of service, especially as arrangements might have been made at the nearer manor of Newburne, or even at Newcastle itself.

However this may be, we find in 4 Hen. II. an account of 5 marks by Archil de Corebrigge, and of 40 marks by Joel de Colebr'. In 6 Hen. II. Archil de Corebr' accounts for 10 marks. In 9 Hen. II. Archil de Corebrugge accounted for 40 marks, and Johel de Corebrugge for 10 pounds. In 16 Hen. II. and 17 Hen. II. we also have mention of Johel de Corebrigge and Johel de Cholebrigge. (By the way, Erchenbald or Erkenbald occurs in these years, but not as moneyer.)

The Testa de Nevill shows how these early Corbridge people held their serjantries there.

3 Hen. fil. Joh. (1218-9) Serjantia Joh'is fil' Joelis valet p'annu' xxxij' & vj den' p' servic' eligendi den' Reg'. Offert d'no Regi xx sol'.

De Serjantiis arentatis p' Rob'tum Passelewe temp'e H. Reg' filii Reg' J.—Serjantia de Cornebrig' ad tricandu' and nu'andu' denar' d'ni Reg' ap'd Novu' Castrum subtus Tynam alienata est in p'te.—Rog'us fil' Joh'nis tenet inde xxx solid' terre fecit inde fine' p' annu' videlicet x sol'.

Serjantia de Corbrigg' que feodata fuit ad t'dend' den' d'ni R. ap'd Novu' Castru' s'r Tynam.—D' Rog'o fil' Joh'is p' xxx solidat' redd' de eadem s'jantia p' ann' x' unam videl't med' ad pasch' et aliam med' ad festu' S'e'i Mich'.—Sexaginta acro t're in Corbrigg' quas Will'us de Tindal tenet p' serjantiam ad recipiend' & narrand' & ad tricandu' denar' d'ni Reg' p' xv dies ante pasch' & p' xv dies ante festu' S'e'i Mich'is & quolibet die cap' de bursa d'ni Reg' p' p'd'c'm tempus xii den' capiat' in manu d'ni Reg' quia servic' ill'd no' fuit factu' a temp'e Reg' J. & valet p' annu' xxx sol'.

The chronology would tend to identify the William who coined at Carlisle much at the same time as Erkembald with William the colessee of the Carlisle mine in 1180, rather than with William fitz Erkembald, who was Hen. II.'s moneyer until 1180. This would allow Erkembald to have been his successor, who, if there were two moneyers at a time, may just as well have succeeded Durant, who, be it remembered, intervenes between 1180 and Prince Henry's accession. There can be no certainty in any deductions on this point, which of course, affects the question, whether the mint at Corbridge continued under Erkembald during the issue at Bambrough by William who was probably his son. It does not indeed follow that William of 1180 was a moneyer at all, any more than his partner Hildret the Sheriff. Considering that for some time afterwards only one moneyer occurs, the most probable supposition is that there we only have the succession of one before:—Durant at Carlisle, temp. Hen. I.; William at Carlisle, Erkembald at Carlisle and Corbridge, and William at Bamborough, temp. Stephen; and William fitz Erkembald, probably the same man, at Carlisle and Newcastle, temp. Hen. II, until the Short Cross Period.

In the foregoing remarks, no attempt has been made to bring in the coins of David's Scotch type, (a cross patonce between four pellets) which appear to bear Henry's name. They seem to have been struck out of the earldom at Berwick, and belong to the Scotch series.

There are some other coins, mostly of barbarous character and of English types, which, though bearing the name of Henry, are believed to have been struck in Stephen's reign. Some barbarous imitations of the types of Henry I. or preceding monarchs, where Rex occurs, need not be mentioned, but other coins, which want it, may have been struck by Henry Earl of Northumberland, or Henry Fitz-Empress. Rud. Sup. II, ii. 10, Hks. 259 with Stephen's reverse was found at Wallsop, with the Rex coins, and the moneyer's locality is not clear. But Rud. Sup. II. ii. 8 strongly resembles the Corbridge coin. It reads +HENRICVS —+PIRIC ON HER: The reverse is Stephen's, with the cross in saltire, instead of the usual direction. No such coins were in the Watford find which settled the last coinages of Henry I. and the first of Stephen. If the last example is Prince Henry's, it was perhaps struck at Hertelopol, at which there seems to have been some demesne

although Brus had the fee. Or a Brus may have struck it, placing the Earl's head upon it, as other barons placed Stephen's on their coins. The name, so likely in the honor of a Pieres de Brus, rather countenances the hint. Then there is another and very peculiar class of coins "badly executed, badly struck, legends very imperfect, the only instances of a double legend upon an English penny." They constitute No. 9 of Hawkin's types of Henry I. (his fig. 258) and occur for moneyers at LINCOLN, LVND, HASTI, and SVTPVR. They read HENRE without title. Can these be *the Duke's money* issued by Henry Fitz-Empress? "Anno gratiæ 1149, qui est 13 an. regni Regis Stephani, Henricus Dux Normannorum venit in Angliam cum magno exercitu, et reddita sunt ei castella multa, et munitiones quam plures, et fecit *monetam novam*, quam vocabant *Monetam Ducis*; et non tantum ipse sed omnes potentes, tam Episcopi, quam Comites et Barones, suam faciebant monetam, sed et quo Dux ille venit, plurimorum monetam cassavit." So Houeden the northern chronicler. Ruding remarks that "this is so obscurely expressed by Houeden, that it is difficult to discover whether he intends the Duke's coming in 1149, his second coming in 1153, when a treaty was concluded between him and Stephen, or indeed whether the expression may not with greater propriety be referred to the following year, when he came to England to claim the sovereignty." The reader will form his own conclusions whether any such obscurity exists, at least as to the former part of the passage, relating to the issue of the Duke's money. We well know from other instances that a *nova moneta* was distinguished by a unmistakable change of type. What type have we to fulfil Houeden's statement? The popular name points to something quite different from the regular issues. Can we have it in that of the pieces which have the place of coinage in an inner circle as in the groats of after days? The outer legend is broken by four circles or crescents. In Hawkins's figure that at the commencement of the legend differs from the others, containing a sort of pierced cinquefoil, reminding one of the estoile and crescent of the Plantagenets.

The foregoing remarks, added at Mr. Haigh's request, complete the survey of the coinage as distinguished from the issues of Kings of England and Bishops of Durham within the limits of Bernicia until the establishment of Henry II.'s mints of Carlisle and Newcastle, for the history of which in the time of him and his sons the reader is referred to recent papers on the "Short Cross" question in the Numismatic Chronicle.

MONTHLY MEETING, 7 JUNE, 1865.

John Clayton, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

DONATIONS.—*From the Rev. W. N. Darnell, Rector of Stanhope.* A mortar taken at the Siege of Mooltan, January, 1849, by his son, Major T. C. Darnell.—*From the Canadian Institute.* The Canadian Journal, March, 1865.

NEW MEMBER.—*Mr John Ryley Robinson, of Dewsbury.*

ITER DE WARK, 21 Edw. I.—An office copy is on the table, and will be printed in a subsequent page.

COUNTRY MEETING, 5 JULY, 1865.

SEVERAL members proceeded to Bamborough, and, in examining the interesting castellated and ecclesiastical remains there, met with every attention from the local authorities.

MONTHLY MEETING, 2 AUGUST, 1865.

John Hodgson Hinde, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

DONATIONS OF BOOKS.—*From Publishing Societies.* The Archæological Journal, No. 84. — The Canadian Journal, May, 1865. — Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, No. 46. — Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, Vol. ii., Part vi.

NEW MEMBERS.—*Messrs. Robert Ormston Lamb, Axwell Park; Thomas Hodgkin, Benwell; George A. Fenwick, Newcastle; William Edward Barnett, Bywell; Ralph Brown, Newcastle.*

EXCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS.—*Resolved,* That the Society's 8vo series be exchanged for the publications of Comité Central de Publication des Inscriptions Funéraires et Monumentales de la Flandre Orientale (Belgique) à Gand.

PINCUSHION OF 1662.—*Mr. E. Thompson* presents a satin pincushion set with pins in the form of a vase of flowers, and with the initials
^D
 1_B F 1662.

MONTHLY MEETING, 6 SEPTEMBER, 1865.

The Rev. James Everett in the Chair.

DONATIONS OF BOOKS.—*From Publishing Societies.* The Wiltshire Magazine, August, 1865, No. 26. — Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, November 26, 1863, to February 11, 1864, Vol. ii., No. 6. — List of the Society of Antiquaries of London. — Archæologia, Vol. xxxix., Part 2. — Atti della Accademia di Scienze e Lettere di Palermo Nuova Serie, Vol. ii., 1853. — The Canadian Journal, July, 1865, No. 58. — Surrey Archæological Collections, Vol. iii., 1865. — *From Messrs. J. R. Appleton and M. C. Jones.* Evans, 1865 (a memoir of the Evans family of Montgomeryshire, for private distribution).

PURCHASED BY SUBSCRIPTION.—Testamenta Eboracensia, Vol. iii., Surtees Society.

MONTHLY MEETING, 4 OCTOBER, 1865.

John Clayton, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

DONATIONS OF BOOKS.—*From Publishing Societies.* Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Session 1863-4. N.S. Vol. iv. — The Archæological Journal, No. 85. — Kilkenny Archæological Society's Quarterly Journal, Vol. v. N.S. Jan. 1865. — Surrey Archæological Collections, Vol. iii.

THE ABALLAVENSES.—*The Rev. Mr. Farmery* presents a rubbing of a Roman inscription found at Cockermouth Castle in May last, mentioning this body of troops. See further in subsequent remarks by Dr. Bruce.

MONTHLY MEETING, 1 NOVEMBER, 1865.

The Rev. James Everett in the Chair.

BOOK ORDERED.—Englehardt's Denmark in the Early Iron Age.

EXHIBITED.—*By Dr. Charlton.* An imperfect English Chronicle ascribed to the 15th century. — *By Mr. Turner.* A small silver crucifix the property of Master J. J. Howson, found several years since in Friar Street, Penrith. He mentions that a kist vaen has been recently opened near "Long Meg."

OBSERVATIONS ON A ROMAN INSCRIPTION AT COCKERMOUTH CASTLE.

BY THE REV. DR. BRUCE.

I HAVE examined with care the rubbing sent us from Cockermouth Castle by the Rev. Mr. Farmery, and I think I have made out the greater part of the inscription. The latter part of the fourth line seems to have met with some injury, intentional or accidental, and I suspect that an examination of the stone itself would alone afford a chance of deciphering it. I am not aware what portion of the altar has been lost. The upper part of it is gone, and this probably contained the name of the deity to whom it was dedicated, and perhaps also the occasion of the dedication. The inscription, as I make it out, is as follows:—

. . AVG . .
 NVM . FRISION
 VM ABALLAV
 ENSIVM
 . . XIII KAL ET XIII KAL
 NOV. GOR II. ET POMP . .
 COS ET ATTICO ET PRET.
 . TATO COS. V.S.L.M.

The translation may be given thus:—" The troop of Frisians quartered at Aballava on the 14th of the kalends and the 13th of the kalends of November, Gordianus, for the second time, and Pompeianus being consuls, and Atticus and Pretextus being consuls."

It will be observed that I give up for the present the first line; but an inspection of the altar may enable us to make use of it.

The 14th of the kalends of November answers to our 18th of October, and the 13th of the kalends of November corresponds with the 19th of October.

Gordian and Pompeianus were consuls A.D. 241, and Atticus and Pretextatus were consuls in A.D. 242.

We have long been acquainted with the fragment of an altar found at Cockermouth Castle, of which the only legible portion mentions the 14th . . . and the 13th of the kalends of November, Gordian, for the second time, and Pompeianus being consuls.

Some important events must have occurred on these dates to warrant this double reference to them. Cockermouth Castle is about a mile distant from the Roman station of Papecastle, and the stones of which it has been built are supposed to have been derived from the Roman camp.

The reference to the troop who reared the altar is of a provoking character. The Roman names of the stations on the Wall west of Amboglanna have not been ascertained. An inscription that should give us any information upon this point would be peculiarly acceptable. The Notitia gives us this account of the 14th station:—"The præfect of a detachment (*numerus*) of Moors styled the Aurelian at ABALLABA." Horsley places ABALLABA at Watch Cross; Hodgson at Stanwicks. In this new inscription we have mention of a band of Frisian Aballavensians, but we have no indication of the precise locality of Aballava.

Again, the mention of the Frisians is puzzling. At VINDOBALA, the modern Rutchester, the Notitia places the first cohort of the Frixagi. As the Frixagi are not known to geographers, it is thought that we should read Frisiones or Frisiani. The Frisians are mentioned in the Sydenham rescript in the time of Trajan, and in the Rivington rescript in the time of Hadrian. They are also mentioned on a stone found at Manchester, recorded by Camden. It is interesting to meet with yet another notice of them. On the whole, however, we could wish for more definite information.

MONTHLY MEETING, 5 DECEMBER, 1865.

John Hodgson Hinde, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

DONATIONS OF BOOKS.—*From Publishing Societies.* Sussex Archæological Collections, Vol. xvii. — The Canadian Journal, September, 1865. — Quarterly Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, April, 1865. — *From Mr. J. G. Forster.* Newcastle in the Olden Time: being 155 views reprinted from Richardson's Table Book. — *From Mr. Brockett.* The Hawks Memorial, reprinted from the "Gateshead Observer." — *From M. Boucher de Perthes.* Antiquités Celtiques et Antédiluviennes, par M. Boucher de Perthes, Tome Troisième, 1864. — *Memoires de la Société Impériale d'Émulation d'Abbeville, 1861-2-3-4-5, première partie.*

LOCAL PRINTS.—*Mr. Edward Thompson* has presented the following, framed:—East view of All Saints' Church, Newcastle, Robt. Hardy

del., Robt. Pollard sculpt. — Chancel of St. Andrew's Church, Newcastle, 1840, Mark Hall Gibson. — Buck's View of Tinemouth, 1728. — South-east view of the Church of St. Dunstan in the East, Jos. Skelton sculp. 1817.

RUNIC INSCRIPTION ON BARONSPIKE.

By EDWARD CHARLTON, M.D.

In the month of March, 1864, a shepherd was watching some ewes on Baronspike, a high range of crags, or rather of huge stones, lying about two miles to the north-east of Bewcastle Church. He suddenly observed some faint traces of letters on a large square stone, facing to the north-west, and which was then illuminated by the slanting rays of the setting sun. On examining the letters he found them of a form totally unknown to him. The inscription consisted of three lines and a quarter, in letters about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. No information of this discovery reached us at Newcastle, but about two months ago our attention was called to it by a letter from a learned antiquary in Copenhagen, who stated that it was noticed in *The Builder*, for October 8th, 1864. On referring to this number of that journal, I found the following paragraph:—

“Last winter a shepherd discovered an old inscription on one of the large rocks at Barnspike, a long range of crags cresting the hills about three miles to the east of Bewcastle Church. The inscription is Scandinavian or old Norse, and may perhaps be read thus—

BARNR HRAITA AT GILLESBUETH
IAS UAS DAUTHR I TRICU ROB
TE VAULKS AT PADRLAN NU LLANRGSEL

Barnr cut this in memory of Gillesbueth, who was slain in a truce by Robt. de Vaulx, for his patrimony again coveted.”

“The inscription is on the north-west side of a large crag, and well protected from the weather, but is almost illegible,” &c., &c.

On Friday, November 10th of this year, we rode over to the spot, and a herd-boy, from the High Grains, soon pointed out to us the inscription. Our astonishment was great, for instead of illegible or almost illegible characters, we found the surface of the stone covered with three bands of black paint, while each letter had been worked out with a sharp tool so that it looked like a thing of yesterday. On close examination,

while copying the inscription, we found two or three strokes indicating letters which had been missed by the modern Vandals in their operations, and in these, to our great satisfaction, we observed that the hoary lichen which closely covered the rest of the stone was quite perfect. On our return to the High Grains house we closely cross-examined two of the men there as to the original condition of the stone, and they both assured us that when first discovered the letters were, as stated in *The Builder*, nearly illegible, and that they were covered with lichen, or, as they expressed, "with the fog," like the rest of the stone. We learned from them that this injury was inflicted by the photographer and his companion, no doubt with the object of obtaining a good negative of the inscription. As it stands at present, it requires a keen eye to be certain that it is not a modern forgery, were it not for the certain testimony of the honest farmer and his shepherd at the High Grains. We read the inscription as follows:—

BARANR : HRAITA AT GILLHES : BUETH

IAS : UAS : TAEUTHR : I : TRICU : RCEB

TE : UAUŁKS : AT : FETRLANA : NU :

LLANERCOSTA

BARANR : HRAITA AT GILLHES : BUETH
IAS : UAS : TAEUTHR : I : TRICU : RCEB
TE : UAUŁKS : AT : FETRLANA : NU :
LLANERCOSTA.

Baranr writes (these) to Gillesbueth
who was slain in truce (by) Rob
de Vaulx at Fetrelana now
Lanercosta.

Had we not ourselves inspected this stone, and heard from credible

witnesses of its original condition, we should have hesitated about receiving it as genuine. There has always been a tradition in the country that Robert de Vaultx, who founded Lanercost Abbey in 1169, slew Gille or Gilbert, son of Beuth, Lord of Bewcastle, at a meeting for agreement appointed between them under trust and assurance of safety. "Which shameful action made the said Robert leave arms and betake himself to the study of the law, in which he made such proficiency, that he became a judge. But this murder still stuck upon his mind, until he made satisfaction to Holy Church by building the Abbey of Lanercost, and endowing it with that very patrimony which had occasioned the murder."—Nicolson and Burn's *Cumberland*, p. 475.

The Editor of the Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmoreland, published by this Society in 1847, thinks that there is no foundation for this story, as Gilles Bueth was dead before any of the Vaultx family had any connection with Gilsland. It is quite true that the De Vaultxs only obtained the Barony of Gilsland after the death of Gilles Bueth, but the murder of this chieftain by Robert de Vaultx may have taken place, as tradition tells us, several years before. We know that Gilles Bueth resisted the grant of Gilsland to William de Meschines by force of arms, so that the said William could not take possession thereof (temp. Henry I).

Henry the Second, very early in his reign, recovered possession of the Northern Counties from the Scotch, and he then gave to Hubert de Vaultx, the father of Robert de Vaultx, "all that land which Gilbert, the son of Beot, had on the day of his death, of whomsoever he held it." It is plain from this that Gilbert de Bueth held Gilsland by force of arms against the legal owner, and it was not unlikely that the De Vaultxs should be rewarded with his lands, when one of that family took means to rid the King of England of his troublesome enemy. From the inscription before us it seems that the deed was accomplished on the very spot where Lanercost now stands, but which in olden times was called *Fetrelana*. It was a likely spot for a truce meeting, that level ground near the river's bank on the confines of the Bewcastle district.

The inscription is in old Norse, and the Runes are purely Scandinavian or Norse. We observe the use of the word *HRAITA*, *writes*, instead of *rista* or *ristr*, and the same is to be found in the Carlisle Runic inscription of nearly the same date. Some of the Runes are reversed, and some too are compound, or more than one letter is expressed on the same stem. It is singular that the crag should have the name of Baronspike, that being the name too of the writer of the inscription. With regard to the word *TRICU*, it occurs also upon a cross in the Isle of Man, *IR OSKETIL SULTIT TRICU*, whom Osketil killed in a truce.

The character employed, as well as the language, are both nearly contemporaneous with the period when the events recorded took place. We may assume that some follower of Gillesbueh recorded on this wild crag the murder of his master. Few in those days would remember the Danish Runes, and fewer still would seek for a memorial of the deed in this desolate spot.

That so fine and remarkable an inscription should have been so recklessly injured must be deeply regretted by all archæologists.

DEEDS FROM THE REV. JAMES EVERETT.

A BUNDLE of documents not of the highest interest. Among them is Lord Eldon's autograph as chancellor. One or two notes are given below.

YORK CITY. MAYOR'S SEAL AND POWERS.—16 Jul.^o 21 Eliz. 1589. Noveritis nos Johannes Dobson de Novo Castro super Tinam mr. mariner et Margareta uxor ejus relaxasse et quietum clamasse Nicholao Diceonson, de civitate Ebor., roper, in sua plena et pacifica possessione et seisina die confeccionis presentium existen., totum jus in uno mesuagio extra Walmegaite Barre in parochia Sancti Laurentii extra Walmegaite Barre in suburbiis civitatis Ebor. "Quia sigilla nostra pluribus sunt incognita, sigillum officii maioratus civitatis Ebor. huic dictæ cartæ nostræ apponi procuravimus. Et ego Robertus Criplinge Maior civitatis Ebor. ad instantiam et specialem requisicionem dictorum Johannis Dobson et Margaretæ uxoris ejus, et precipue pro eo quod prefata Margareta per me examinata confessa fuit coram me prefato maiore dictam cartam esse factam suam propriam libere et spontanie, et absque aliqua compuncione sive coercione dicti Johannis Dobson viri sui: ideo in verum testimonium premissorum sigillum mei officii maioris civitatis predictæ presentibus apposui."—Two small effaced seals.—*Sigillum. secretum. officii. maioratus. civitat. Eboraci.* The city arms, between two ostrich feathers, engraved in Boyne's Yorkshire Tokens.

STERNE.—*Arms sealed by Elizabeth Sterne of York, "widow, on a bond of 17 Mar. 1769 to Stephen Croft of York, Esq., securing £200 to her daughter Lidia Sterne of York, spinster. Quarterly. 1 and 4, At the base are waves, from which rises a tower at the sinister. There is a chief charged with a crescent between two mullets, and below this at the dexter side a sun from which proceed beams in the direction of the tower. 2 and 3, A bend charged with three owls? Witnessed by "A. Ricard, A. Ricard Junr."*

BYRON.—Seal of arms used by parties to a deed concerning property in the Market Street Lane, Manchester, 26 Dec. 1720, witnessed by

"*Jo: Byron., Chr. Byron.* Quarterly, 1 and 4, The three bendlets of Byron, but not enhanced. 2 and 3, On a bend three annulets, in sinister chief a cross patee (fitchee?) *Crest.*—A Mermaid.

BARTON IN THE WILLOWES.—A property conveyed in 1668 as a "messuage *burgage* or tenement—within the *lordshipp* of Barton aforesaid." In a previous description of 1654, the word '*burgage*' is omitted.

THE FIVE SITTING STATUES, OF ROMAN DATE, IN THE MUSEUM OF THE SOCIETY.

BY W. H. BLACK, F.S.A.

WHEN I was at Newcastle, and spent day after day in the examination of the precious collection of Roman antiquities collected by the Society of Antiquaries there, I was particularly struck by the appearance of the *five sitting statues*, which were brought from one of the stations along the line of the Roman Wall. They agree in general appearance with the other mutilated statues which have been found elsewhere in *threes*, except that yours have not baskets in their laps, as the others have. I promised a note in explanation of my view of their design, and now I fulfil my promise.

The group of three sitting female figures, preserved in the Guildhall Library, was found in London, and has been hitherto supposed to represent certain mythological personages, under the title of *Deæ Matres*, as you may see in our friend Mr. C. R. Smith's "*Illustrations of Roman London*," and elsewhere. But, if goddesses, why bearing baskets? That accompaniment to a female figure always denotes, in the "*Notitia Utriusque Imperii*," of Alciatus, Pancirollus, Gronovius, and Bocking, and especially in the finely illuminated MS. of that instructive record, contained in the Imperial Library at Paris, *the revenues of a port or province*, metaphorically its fruits. I have therefore explained, but not until now in writing, those figures as representing *the three oldest provinces of Roman Britain*, bearing their *vectigal* in baskets. In the "*Notitia*," a standing figure represents a tributary or taxpaying region; a sitting figure, one of great dignity, as "*Roma*" and "*Campania*," in that book. The three standing figures of "*Asia, Insulæ, Hellespontus*," bearing baskets, were produced with much force by Selden, in his famous work the "*Mare Clausum*," to prove that the Romans drew revenues from their sovereignty over the narrow seas of the Mediterranean; and

those figures are, as he justly says, majestic, and crowned with turreted crowns. He describes the contents of their baskets or vessels as *golden coins*, and they are gilt in the MSS., but in the sculptures they resemble flattish apples or oranges, and are clearly fruits.

But your *five* figures bear no vessels at all. Hence I suppose that they signify *the five provinces of Britain*, of a later age, that of the "*Notitia*," which contains *five*, three of which (*viz.* Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Flavia Cæsariensis,) were Presidential, and two of which were *Consular*, (*viz.* Maxima Cæsariensis, and Valentia). I suppose also that Britain became at length self-supporting, and that the absence of fruits may have denoted freedom from tribute to the Roman *fiscus*. If I am right in my political interpretation, the date of your figures is not only later than that of the others, (say about the end of fourth century,) but was before the addition of a *sixth* province, that of the "*Islands*," which is expressly mentioned in one of the oldest MSS. in the Imperial Collection, namely in the work of Dicuil.

MONTHLY MEETING, 3 JAN., 1866.

John Clayton, Esq., V.P. in the Chair.

NEW MEMBERS.—*Messrs Charles James Spence, 4, Rosella Place, North Shields; Walter John Till, Croydon.*

AUDITORS.—*Messrs Robert White, W. H. D. Longstaffe.*

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SIR JACOB ASTLEY, KNT., SERGEANT
MAIOR GENERAL OF HIS MAJESTIES ARMY COM-
MANDED BY MY LORD GENERAL, TO MAKE HIS
SPEEDY REPAIRE TO NEW CASTLE.

You are first to call the Quarter Master General and all the quarter masters of the foote before you, and to consider of the fittest place where to lodge the foote regiments uppon the Tyne of Northumberland side, having a regard to the comoditie of bringing all manner of provision by water, and to have a particular care of my Lord Generalls quarter. — To advance the horse if they give any impediment to the foote as farr as Hexham, and so *eastward* farther into Northumberland,

To treat with the Maior and Aldermen of the towne, concerning corne and victualls and to publish a free marquett to all that will come, and to assure them that upon any misdemenore of soldiers, justice shall be done, and if they cannot agree of the price they shall have libertie to transport their corne where they please within the kingdome. — To take consideration howe to furnish the army with bread, and what provision of meale they can weekly grind about Newcastle, that soe provision may be weekly sent overland or otherwise to Barwick as occasion shall serve. — To make an exacte state of artillery with the Generall of the Artillery, or in his absence with Mr. Pinckney, that at his Maiesties cominge into Northumberland, they may march at 24 howers warninge into the feild. — To take care that the horse sent out of the cuntrye be duly payd accordinge to the Lord's letters, viz.: 12*d.* for each horse per diem and 8*d.* for each carter, and that these horses and carters be duly quartered and harness made for them, they beinge only to be applied to the draught of artillery ammunition waggon, and to noe other use without speciall command. — To consider with those of Newcastle howe haye may be transported thence to the Holy Iland, and at what rate. — That a letter be instantly sent to my Lord of Linsey, that the colliers that brought his men out of Lincolnshire be all stayed at the Holy Iland untill further order from my Lord Generall. — To remember to have boates provided to make a bridge over the Tyne for coach and horse to passe over against the Kinge's Courte, which is thought will be at the White-Howse. — To take into consideration what deale boards, timber, firre poles, &c., may be had at Newcastle. — And what artificers, as smythes and masons, may be had there also, that some present order may be taken for the sendinge them to the Holy Iland. — You are to require the Mayor accordinge to my direction to cause good accomodation for an howse and forge to be made for the pistoll master and his fewe serventes for his better execution of his Majestie service and the present use of the army. — That the Maior and officers cause all howses to be aired and bedds where any infection hath beene, and this to be done presently before the army come. — Coll. Trofford to have armes for his regiment of 600 dragones, beinge snap-haures, and Roger Woddrington for 120, both without pay. — That the Maior of the towne call before him the doctors of phisicke of the towne, and to require them to give their oppinions both of the contagion of this new disease or fever or small pox, and how longe since the plague hath been in the towne and immediately to certify the Lord Generall. — The generall troope of horse and company of foote to be lodged in, or as nere the towne as may be, and good quarter to be preserved for my Lord Generall's troop of horse, which will dayly increase, as near his person as may be. A village preserved for lodging of sicke or hurte souldiers, and another for the infected persons.¹

¹ Copy in J. B. Taylor's MSS.

DURHAM AND SADBERGE.

PAGAN PERIOD.

THE present essay is founded upon direct lettered evidences, and in the margin is a sort of chronological table of names of Roman emperors, and, as soon as we can procure them, Bernician chiefs and kings.

“After ages of depredation,” says Surtees, “Lanchester still exhibits perhaps the boldest and proudest monument of Roman arms in the North.” It “arose probably during the early ages of the Roman dominion in Britain. A large proportion of the coins found here are of the higher empire, and the station had at least had time to decline from its first meridian, when Gordian, according to two notable inscriptions discovered here, *restored* the Arsenal, and founded the Baths and Basilica.” “The principal coins in Mr. Greenwell’s possession” enumerated by Surtees, commence with some of Augustus, and include specimens struck during the reigns of his immediate successors, Tiberius and Caligula. The 20th Legion, *Valens Victrix*, which came into Britain under Claudius, and had its head quarters at Diva, and which is not mentioned in the Notitia, occurs in the Lanchester inscriptions.

JULIUS CÆSAR.	
1-14. AUGUSTUS.	A gold coin of Nero was found on Gilligate moor, near Durham. (Newcastle Congress, vol. i. 67.) A first-brass coin of him turned up in a brickyard near Sunderland in 1861. (Cotemporary newspaper.) A silver coin of Vitellius was taken out of the heart of walls at Jarrow in 1812. (Ibid. 53.) In 1822 a brass coin of Domitian, during whose reign Agricola was continuing his exploits, was picked up between Seaton and Hartlepool. (Arch. Æl. ii. 110.) A gold coin of Trajan, discovered at Piercebridge, was secured by Mr. Denham of that station. The coins found at Chester-le-Street range from Hadrian. (Personal inspection.) A slab to the honour of that emperor’s adopted sons, from Jarrow, is in the New Castle.
14-37. TIBERIUS.	
37-41. CALIGULA.	
41-54. CLAUDIUS.	
54-68. NERO.	
68-69. GALBA.	
69. OTHO.	
69. VITELLIUS.	
69-79. VESPASIAN.	
79-81. TITUS.	
81-96. DOMITIAN.	
96-98. NERVA.	
98-117. TRAJAN.	
117-138. HADRIAN.	

Ptolemy lived and wrote under Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius. (Horsley, 356.) In his tables (Mon. Hist. xiii. xiv.), between the river Alaunus, which is admitted to be north of the Tyne, and the bay of the Gabrantuici, admitted to be south of it, we have along the Germanic ocean :

Outlets of the river <i>Ouedra</i> . . .	29° 10'	58° 30'
<i>Dounon bay</i>	20° 15'	57° 30'.

and south of the Elgovæ, and of the Otadeni, whose town Bremenium is admitted to be north of the Tyne, we have "the Brigantes, among whom the towns are :

<i>Epeiakon</i>	18° 30'	58° 30'
<i>Quinnoouion</i>	17° 30'	58° "

138-161. ANTONINUS PIUS. These precede Katourraktonion and othertowns

161-180. AURELIUS. admitted to be south of the Tees. Vinnovium

180-192. COMMODUS. being obviously Binchester, it is clear that the

193. PERTINAX. subsequent boundary of the Tees between Ber-

193. DIDIUS JULIAN. nicia and Deira was then unknown, and that the Tyne divided the Brigantes from the Otadeni.

193-211. SEVERUS. A coin of Severus was found at Newton Ketton (J. Ord), and some Greek and Latin inscriptions at Lanchester, which mention Titianus and the Vardulian cavalry, are considered to belong to the age of Severus or his sons.

211-217. ANTONINUS This is the proper place to notice the Antonine (CARACALLA). nine Itinerary, although its present appearance must have been assumed long after the last of the Antonines. (Horsley, 379.) Iter I., leaving Corstopitum, admitted to be Corbridge, has (Mon. Hist. xx.)

217-218. MACRINUS.	<i>Vindomora</i>	m. p. viiii.
218-222. HELIOGABALUS.	<i>Vinovia</i>	m. p. xviii.
222-235. ALEXANDER.	Cataractoni	m. p. xxii.
235-238. MAXIMINUS.		

Vindomora is clearly the crossing of the Derwent near Ebchester.

238-244. GORDIAN. Two Lanchester inscriptions are identified with Gordian, who "balneum cum basilica a solo instruxit," and "principia et armamentaria conlapsa restituit." "Cohors prima legionis

- 254-268. GALLIENUS. Gordianæ" performed these works. (Horsley,
 268-270. CLAUDIUS Durham, xi. xii.)
 GOTHCUS. It is not intended here to chronicle the oc-
 270-275. AURELIAN. currence of intermediate coins. The earliest
 275-276. TACITUS. and the latest reigns only have their interest.
 276-282. PROBUS. In the margin, for facility of carrying on the
 282-283. CARUS. chronology, the emperors who reigned longest
 283-285. CARINUS. and most certainly are named. But, as to
 285-305. DIOCLETIAN. Britain, the coins of Victorinus, Tetricus, Te-
 305-306. CONSTANTIUS I. tricus Junior, Carausius, and Allectus, during
 306-337. CONSTANTINE. the period between 265 and 296, will always
 337-350. CONSTANS. have, for the British collector, a higher interest
 350-353. MAGNENTIUS. than those of the more generally recognized
 353-361. CONSTANTIUS II. owners of the purple.
 361-363. JULIAN. The death of Julian the Apostate in 363
 363?-364? BEORNEC. forms an epoch in the history of England. For
 we know from Ammianus Marcellinus, a co-
 temporary and unexceptionable witness, who flourished in 380, that, in
 364, the next year to that of Julian's death, not only the native enemies,
 Picts, and Scots alias Irish, and Attacotti, but also Saxons were vexing
 the Britons with constant calamities. The conjunction of words *Picts*
and Saxons, and *Scots and Attacotti*, should not be overlooked.

There is a useful summary of the various statements concerning the pedigrees of our heptarchic kings in Haigh's Conquest of Britain, p. 132. But the principles respected in the present essay demand *implicit* deference to the authorities of 737, they being a *century* older than the Genealogies next in date, which are contained in Textus Roffensis. One thought as to the chasm between the accession of George III. and that of Victoria, albeit only one of *sixty-seven* years, will enable the realization of a centurial difference of time, sentiment, and ideas of what constitutes *truth*. Yet, be it remembered, absolute verity may be approximated more in *one* cycle of time than in *another*.

Taking the Genealogies of 737 which are appended to the History of the Britons usually quoted as Nennius, and which have a leaning to, or origin in, Bernicia, we find the kings of Bernicia and Deira traced to Woden. The Bernician pedigree commences thus: "Woden genuit Beldeg, genuit Beornec." The Deiran one begins: "Woden genuit Beldeyg, Brond genuit Siggær." There is no early genealogy of the West Saxons, but in later times it also was made to commence with Baeldeag and Brand. We need not inquire whether Beldeyg and Brond in the Deiran genealogy are intended to be successive or identical. When we reach them we reach the period when the actual pedigree

fails, and supposititious ancestors, human or divine, treated as common to the race, are tacked on according to the taste of the compiler. Brond or Brand, fire, is merely another name of Woden's son Bældæg or Balder, the god of splendour, and we must regard descent from him as only meaning an idea of community of origin. The real homines propositi are BEORNEC and *Siggär*.

Now, to gain an idea of the chronology of them and their descendants, we must pursue the course we should take in testing probabilities in more modern pedigrees. We must take deaths on which our earliest historians are agreed, and count back the generations, "so that," as Sir Isaac Newton hath it, "three of them may be reckoned at about 75 or 80 years." Starting from the death of Ida the Bernician in 559, we find that the process, allowing 25 years to each generation, makes his ancestor Beornec die about 384. A similar calculation from the death of Edwin in 633 gives 407 as the approximate date of the death of Siggär the Deiran, about a generation lower than Beornec's. The premature date of Edwin's death in battle is neutralized by his being much younger than his sisters.

It is not said when Bernicia began; but as to Deira, we read that Siggär's grandson, Soemil, who would die about 482, "first severed Deur from Birneich."

Skene has come to the conclusion that "the tradition given by Nennius, that Octa and Æbussa, the son and nephew of Hengist, led a body of Saxons past the Orkneys, and took possession of a part of Scotland, 'usque ad confinia Pictorum,' indicated a real settlement of Saxons on the east coast of Scotland as early as 374. (See his *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 107.) There is no reason why Beornec might not be vexing the province of Valentia, lying between the Vallum and the Picts, at the same early period. He might well be one of the vexatious Saxons of 364. The province was temporarily recovered in 369 by Theodosius, and named Valentia after his master, but no towns in it are mentioned in the *Notitia* of 395-408.

There is no necessary connection between these presumptions and the name of Bernicia. One is indeed led to the idea that its origin, after the time of Ptolemy, had probably some connection with Bearnoch or the early Beornicas proceeding from his loins. But it is fair to state that our Scottish friends of the present day prefer a British origin for Bernicia and Deira, and that the Arthurian Triads, in a MS. of 1300 or so, give three sons of bards with British names, as princes of "Deiuyr a Brynych." Phryder mab Dolor of Deiuyr a Brynych occurs in the same Triads as one of the three strong-crutched ones of the island of Prydein. (Skene, ii. 457, 458, 463.) Harrison in 1577 has a curious

notion about the river Breamish (the Bromie of the *Historia de S. Cuthberto*). "As touching the Twede (he says), this I have to note, that the old and ancient name of the Till that falleth into the same is not Bromis, from the head, as some do now call it (and I, following their assertions, have set down), but rather Brenniche. And, beside that Lelande is of the same opinion, I find how the kingdom of Brenicia took denomination of this water, and that only thereof it was called Brenicia, or Brennich, and upon none other occasion."

384?-409? GECHBROND. The Durham stations of the Romans appear to have been used until near the final flight of the Eagles. Coins of Valentinian, who died in 375, have occurred at Shields Law and Lanchester, and the coins from Chester-le-Street include those of Gratian (375-383). In the *Notitia Imperii*, which appears (Hinde's *Northumberland*, 16,) to have been compiled during the joint reign of Arcadius and Honorius (395-408), divers stations *per lineam valli*, and in Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, and part of Lancashire, appear "sub dispositione viri spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum." No towns in Valentia appear. As to the rest of the kingdom, the only other fortresses mentioned are those on the Kentish coasts, which were "sub dispositione viri spectabilis comitis limitis Saxonici per Britanniam." Probably, in these concentrations of forces, we see the defences of Roman Britain, in its dying agonies, against the Scots from the west, the Saxons from the east, and the Picts from the north. The spade on the Wall, when liberally handled by some antiquary of the Greenwell steel, will, doubtless, tell our sons the true story of those troublous times.

The following entries in the *Notitia* are presumed to refer to Piercebridge, Lanchester, and Ebechester:

Praefectus numeri Pacensium, Magis.
Praefectus numeri Longovicariorum, Longovico.
Praefectus numeri Derwentonensis, Derwentione.

The Ravenna geographer, supposed to have flourished in the 7th century, in his barbarous enumeration of the cities in Britain of which he had read, seems to mention Lanchester and Binchester as

Lineojugla.
Vinonia.

A glimpse of the fate of Longovicum presents itself. "Its destruction was probably owing to some hidden and violent catastrophe. The red ashes of the Basilica and the Bath, the vitrified flooring, and the metallic

substances, evidently run by fire, which occur amongst the ruins, form a strong indication that the structure perished in flames." And then, unless we except the questionable appearance of Hart (Heort) in the romance of Beowulf, and of Kaer Weir in some Welsh poems, the curtain falls on the land between the waters of Tyne and Tees for the remainder of the period under present consideration.

GECHBROND, son of Beornec, dying about 409, might just, by a judicious unblocking of a northern gateway of some station or castle *per lineam valli*, somewhere near the sea-coast, mayhap at Pons Ælii, have had the honour of taking seisin of Durhamshire. For, in 409, during the time of Constantine's usurpation, the people of Britain and other Celtic nations were compelled, themselves, in consequence of the usurper's neglect of the government, to revolt from the empire, take up arms, and free their cities from the invading barbarians. We have this on the testimony of Zosimus at the period, and the same date is confusedly found in a passage of the *Historia Britonum*: "*Hucusque regnaverunt Romani apud Brittones quadragentis et novem annis.*" Among the "invading barbarians" we may not unreasonably class *Siggar*, the ancestor of the princes of Deira.

409?-434? ALUSON. ALUSON, son of Gechbrond, occurs next in the Bernician series, *Sebald*, son of *Siggar*, being his cotemporary. The Roman power was at an end with the defection in 409. Honorius, having written letters to the cities of Britain, urging them to look to their own safety, indulged in indolence. His rival Constantine was slain in 411, but as Procopius, writing in the time of Ida or his sons, observes, "the Romans had it no longer in their power to recover Britain; so that from this time it remained subject to usurpers." In Aluson's time, as here estimated, two great events seem to have occurred. One was an emigration, from the north, of Cunedag or Cunedda, the British Guledig, or Leader of the Hosts, with his sons, which, before the time of Ida, resulted in the exiles permanently driving some Scots or Gael from Ireland out of their Welsh settlements. There is a laudatory poem ascribed to Taliessin the British bard, which says: "There is trembling from fear of Cunedaf the burner, in Kaer Weir and Kaer Liwelyd.—A door-hurdle the men of Bryneich carried in the battle. They became pale from fear of him and his chilling terror." It has been supposed that this Cunedaf is Cunedda, and that the places mentioned are Durham and Carlisle. That Caer Weir was some Roman station on the Wear is not improbable. "The contention of men even to Gaer Weir" occurs in another poem, subsequent to Taliessin. (Skene, i. 436, ii. 399.)

484?-459?. **INGUEC.** **INGUEC**, son of **Aluson**, has the *Deiran Zegulf*, son of **Sebald**, for his cotemporary. And, for his time, we have the very conclusive statement of **Prosper**, an author of the period, that in 441, the *Britains*, hitherto harassed with various slaughters and misfortunes, were reduced under the rule of the *Saxons*. The reduction, as to the coasts which faced the German Ocean, and which had received the close attention of the inhabitants of the continent, was, doubtless, complete. But, westward, and northward, combats, for many a century more, had to be faced by the invaders.

459?-484? **ÆDIBRITH.** The next person in the *Bernician genealogy*, **ÆDIBRITH**, son of **Inguce**, would be living alongside of *Soemil*,¹ son of *Zegulf*, whose name, in the ancient *Genealogies*, has the weighty addition: "*Ipse primus separavit Deur o Birneich.*" The various reading *superavit*, making *Soemil* the first governor of all *Northumbria*, cannot be supported. *O* clearly means *from*. And the phrase resembles a later one in the *Genealogies*, where of *Penda* it is said: "*Ipse primus separavit regnum Merciorum a regno Nordorum.*" As *Edwin* had married a daughter of *Cearl*, a previous king of the *Mercians* (*B. H. E.* ii. 14), it is plain that we are not safe in assuming that such phrases mean more than severances or ascertaining of boundaries between districts, the result of the reduction of former rulers. Trespassers from the north and trespassers from the south might readily find themselves face to face upon the *Tees*.

484?-516? **OSSA.** **OSSA**, son of **Ædibrith**, in *Bernicia*, and *Squerthing*, son of *Soemil*, in *Deira*, would be flourishing during the twelve battles of *Arthur*. The probabilities appear to be with the writers who locate these fights in the north. This concluding battle of *Badon Hill* is supposed by *Skene* to have been at *Bouden Hill*, in *Linlithgowshire*, which is of considerable size and strongly fortified, and past which a river *Avon* flows. Its date, according to *Gildas*, was 516. According to *Skene*, one *Eossa* or *Ossa Cylllelaur* (the knife-man) is mentioned as one of *Arthur's* opponents by *Welsh traditions*. If there is anything in these, *Ossa* of *Bernicia* suggests himself as the man intended, and as he would live until 509, even according to our average computation, his years might well continue until 516.

¹ "I have always viewed *Soemil's* claim to be founder of *Deira* with great suspicion, but, if we look upon *Beolwlf* as historical, the localities seem to be indisputably *Deiran*, and the period earlier than *Ella*. *Beolwlf*, however, appears to me to be a fiction of the same nature as *Haveloc's*, the places real, but the personages fictitious, and the chronology false. With all this, I can scarcely defend my views with regard to *Soemil* from the charge of prejudice."—*I. H. H.*

516?-534? EOBBA. EOBBA, son of Ossa, and *Giulglis*, son of Squerthing, follow for the period between Arthur's successes and the battle of Camlan, in which he and Medraut perished, and which by the Welsh chronicler of 977 is placed in 537.

534?-559. IDA. We now come to IDA of Bernicia, son of Eobba, and *Urfrea*, son of Guilglis, in Deira.

Up to this time Arthur has been represented as all-successful. Whatever truth be contained in the Bruts when they make him dividing the districts which he had wrested from the Saxons and Jutes, clear it is that the British territory is found split up into petty chieftainships. History proceeds to the amalgamation of these into the kingdoms of Strathclyde, Dalriada, and Wales, and of Bernicia and Deira into a powerful Northumbria.

The Saxons "sought aid from Germany, and increased manifold without intermission, and brought kings from Germany that they might reign over them in Britain, up to the time in which Ida reigned, who was son of Eobba; he was the first king in Beornicia, that is, in Berneich." Such, without any special mention of Camlan, or of any other national reverse of fortune after Arthur's last victory, is the concluding language of the *Historia Britonum* in its original shape. The *Genealogies* of 737 tell us that "Ida son of Eobba held the regions on the north of Britain, that is of the Umbrian Sea." Bede's *Epitome* says that in 547 "Ida began to reign, from whom the royal family of the Northumbrians derives its origin." The *Short Northumbrian Chronology* of 737 copies that language. The chronicler of 891 translates it into Anglo-Saxon. The Vatican MS. of the *Historia Britonum*, written in the 10th century, or thereabouts, enlarges the original language, and says that Ida was first king "in Beornicia, that is in Bernech, and in Cair Affrauc, of the race of the Saxons." Cair Affrauc is doubtless Cair Ebrauc, York, and some such version had been before Gaimar when he confusedly states that Ida merely restored Bamborough, which had become decayed since Ebrauc built it. *Æthelwerd*, representing a lost text of the *Chronicle*, says that "Ida began his reign over the province which is called Northanhymbra." Subsequent writers are of little moment, but possibly some local tradition is preserved by the *Libellus* of Henry I.'s days when it says that Ida, with his father Eoppa, came with 60 ships to Flemaburch, and thence occupying the northern parts, reigned there 12 years. Whither he came is not stated. *Malmsbury* seems to have known nothing of the relation. "Whether," he says, "he himself seized the chief authority or received it by the consent of others, I by no means venture to determine, because the truth is unrevealed."

It seems to have been conceded at all periods that the capital of Ida was the modern Bamborough, which, under the name of Dinguoaroy, is stated to have been given by Ida's grandson to Queen Bebba, and to have taken from her the name of Bebbanburch. The Genealogies of 737, which mention this, also say that Ida *uncit, unexit, junxit, struxit* or *vinxit Dingwayrdi Guwrth-Berneich*. *Vxit* or *rexit* have also been suggested. The fact is unnoticed in the original codex of the Chronicle of 891, and in those of 977 and 1046. But it occurs in that of 1056, and the copy of the Genealogies before the compiler was evidently one in which a word occurred, *junxit* or *struxit* apparently, which, to his mind, alluded to joiners' work or other mode of construction to which the vernacular *getimbrade* might be safely applied, for such is his translation.² He calls the place Bebenburl. The codex of 1122 and the additions to that of 891 add that it was first enclosed by a hedge, and afterwards by a wall.

The nature of Ida's sovereignty, whatever its extent, must be estimated by the history of its origin. The Saxons brought kings from Germany that they might reign over them, until Ida reigned. He took their place in the north. Where he had been chieftain before, he would be king as we understand the term. Elsewhere, he would be *dux bellorum*, or *Guledig*, or leader of the hosts. This was a dignity in no way ending the original position of the princes of Deira. It was one to which they, or any others of their peers, might well aspire on the death of the first king. Sooner, or later, the aspirations were confined to the two royal races. The "hero sank into the king." The leadership of the hosts of Bernicia and Deira became the kingdom of Northumbria. The idea of it was never absent after the accession of Ida, but a struggle for its inheritance was inevitable. The Genealogies and Short Chronology utterly ignore the royalty of the Deiran kinglets, while the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as coolly, treats Ælla of Deira as successor to Ida over Northumbria. Between the parties, we are left in entire ignorance of the ancestry of some of the kings whose names and regnal years are preserved by the Bernician writers.

- | | | | | |
|---|-----|---|---------|--|
| 1 | IDA | = | 547-548 | For the real dates during the reigns of the |
| 2 | .. | = | 548-549 | early sovereigns we are generally left to a con- |
| 3 | .. | = | 549-550 | sideration of their regnal years by such writers |
| 4 | .. | = | 550-551 | as we can trust. The accession of Ida is an |
| 5 | .. | = | 551-552 | exception. On whatever grounds it was come |
| 6 | .. | = | 552-553 | to, Bede's date of 547 must be accepted. The |

² "The analogy of the Saxon word *getimbrade* pleads very strongly in favour of *struxit*."—I. H. H.

7	IDA	=	553-554	regnal years after it enable us to arrive at the
8	..	=	554-555	next Christian date of authority with preci-
9	..	=	555-556	sion. Coronations, as for such times might be
10	..	=	556-557	expected, must have followed accessions with
11	..	=	557-558	expedition.

12 IDA = 558-559 Bede's Epitome, the Short Northumbrian Chronology of 737, and the Nennian Genealogies of the same date, all agree in allowing 12 years for Ida's rule. Thus we arrive at 559 for the end of it. Immediately before passing from Ida to his successors, the Genealogies say: "Maileun, a great king, reigned over the Britons, that is, in the region of Guenedota." They proceed to mention the emigration of his ancestors from the north, and their expulsion of the Scots from Wales. Gildas, writing in 560, the very year after Ida's death, also mentions Maglocunus as a king of the Britons. Such coincidences enable us to proceed with confidence.

The Genealogies precede their mention of Mailcun with other most interesting words, though few. "Then Dutigirn, in that time, valiantly fought against the race of the Angles. Then Talhaern Tataguen flourished in poesy, and Neirin, and Taliessin, and Bluchbard, and Cian, who is called Gueinthguaut, together, at one time, flourished in British poesy."

Here the Four Ancient Books of Wales, edited by Skene, must be noticed. They consist of: 1. The Black Book of the Black Canons of Caermarthen, written t. Hen. ii., 1154-1189; 2. The Book of Aneurin, a MS. of cent. xiii.; 3. The Book of Taliessin, a MS. of cent. xiv.; and 4. The Red Book of Hergest, compiled in cents. xiv. and xv. for the Vaughans of Hergest Court, as it is said. The dates of the MSS., if the writings are our earliest specimens of reducing Welsh poetry to letters, do not militate against the genuineness of their contents. And the later MSS., if independent of the earlier, *as to the character of their contents*, may not be spurious *altogether*, but may preserve authentic records not within the scope of the earlier scribes. The contents of MSS. posterior to the new sort of Arthurian literature must depend on their own inherent probability and resemblance to other earlier productions for acceptance. That the Genealogist had genuine works by the bards he is careful to mention cannot be doubted, and Skene remarks very justly that the reason of their notice by the Genealogist is that he afterwards proceeds to note the precise period in which some of their heroes flourished. These will be remarked upon in the sequel.

The family of Ida is thus stated by the Genealogist of 737: "Ida had twelve sons, of whom the names are: [1] Adda, [2] Æalldric (Skene,

Stevenson has *Æddric* from the same MS. Harl, 3859: *var. EALDRIC*), [3] *Deedric* (*var. Deodric*), [4] *Edric*, [5] *Deothere*, [6] *Osmer*, ‘et unam reginam Bearnoch’, [7] *Ealric*.” *EALDRIC* begat *Aelfret* (*var. Eadfreth*), he is *Ædlfred* (*var. Eadfreth*) *Flesaur*. He [i. e. *Ædlfred*] also had [nam et ipse habuit] *seven* sons, of whom the names are *Anfrid*, *Osguald*, *Osbiu*, *Osguid*, *Osgudu*, *Oslapf*, *Offa*.”

It may be suspected that, in the case of *Ida*, *vii* has been copied *xii*. Whether his first six sons were by *Bearnoch* (*ex una regina* as Stevenson suggests), whether *Bearnoch* was his daughter and a queen, whether she was named *Bearnoch* or was the wife of a king of *Bernicia*, that word *Bearnoch* seems to distinguish the seventh son, *Ealric*, from his brethren.

For the obscure period between the death of *Ida* and that of *Æthelfrid*, our historians differ. The authorities of 737, which have a leaning to, or origin in, *Bernicia*, and are followed by most of the northern writers subsequently, give us this series of kings: *Ida*, *Glappa*, *Adda*, *Æthelric*, *Theodoric*, *Frithwald*, *Hussa*, *Æthelfrid*. We learn further that *Æthelric* who succeeded *Adda* was *Adda*’s son, and that *Æthelfrid*, who closes the series, reigned 12 years in *Bernicia*, and 12 in *Deira*, together 24 years. The previous kings of *Deira* are not named as such. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of 891, on the contrary, excludes the series of 737, and in its original state is content with the mention of the accession to the throne of Northumbria of *Ida* in 547, and the *Deiran* *Ælla* in 560; of the death of *Ælla* and the accession of *Æthelric* “after him” in 588; of the reign of *Æthelric* for 5 years; and of the accession of *Æthelfrid* to some kingdom or other in 593. It does not say who its *Æthelric* was. The father of *Æthelfrid*, son of *Ida*, as well as the son of *Adda*, grandson of *Ida*, was named *Æthelric*, but we do not know that he ever ascended the royal chair.

In the reign of Henry I., three or four centuries after the times of the writers already quoted, a new school of history arose. The heirship of *Adda*’s son, *Æthelric*, was ignored, and the whole series of *Bernician* kings was transposed in order to identify the *Bernician* *Æthelric*, of the writers of 737, with the person of the same name, apparently reigning in *Deira*, who is presented by the scribe of 891: *Æthelfrid*, his son, being represented as reigning over Northumbria generally during the whole of his reign of 24 years. There are some differences among the authors who flourished in the period of *Beauclerc*. The statement most in favour is that of the *Libellus de Regibus Saxonieis* which was afterwards adopted by *Wallingford*. In that tract the order of kings runs: *Ida*, *Adda*, *Glappa*, *Hussa*, *Frithwulf*, *Theodoric*, *Æthelric*, *Æthelfrid*. Here the *Bernician* evidences are acknowledged. *Ælla*, however, is represented as reigning in *Deira* from the death of *Ida*, and

Edwin, his son, as expelled by Æthelfrid, not by Æthelric, which is noteworthy. William of Malmsbury, and the Peterborough Codex of the Saxon Chronicle, in common with the former editions of that chronicle, merely give the Deiran succession, treating Ida, Ælla, Æthelric, and Æthelfrid as kings of all Northumbria during the whole of their reigns. Probably the writers of both schools considered that Æthelric the predecessor of Æthelfrid was his father, and was son of Ida, but only Malmsbury and Florence of Worcester say so expressly. The latter makes Æthelric to reign 2 years in Bernicia before Ælla's death, and to eject Edwin and reign 5 years in Deira. Roger of Wendover, who preserves for us many details from sources with which we are now unacquainted, has this sequence :

- 548. Ida, 12 years.
- 560. Death of Ida. Ella in Deira for 30 years. Adda, son of Ida, in Bernicia for 7 years.
- 567. Death of Adda. Glappa succeeds for 5 [read 2] years.
- 569. Death of Glappa. Theodwald succeeds for 1 year.
- 570. Frethwulf succeeds for 7 years.
- 575. Benedict fills the Roman chair 4 years, 6 months, and 14 days. He gives permission to Pope Gregory to go and preach to the Angles, but the people tumultuously detain him.
- 577. Death of Frethwulf. Theodoric succeeds for 7 years.
- 585. The 8 kingdoms of the Angles or Saxons completed by the commencement of that of Mercia under Credde.
- 586. At this time were reigning Ælla in Deira, and Affrid in Bernicia.
- 588. Æthelfrid, king of the Bernicians, marries Acca, daughter of Ælla, king of Deira.
- 593. On the death of Ælla, Æthelfrid expels his son Edwin from Deira, and reigns over both kingdoms. Edwin takes refuge with Redwald king of the East Angles.
- 617. Æthelfrid slain. Edwin had found refuge with Redwald for 17 years.

There are confusions, omissions, and inconsistencies here, but the last statement, taken as the sum of Edwin's banishment generally, together with the making Ælla and Æthelfrid, cotemporaries, and Gregory's mission in the reign of Frethwulf coincide with what we find in the oldest authorities, and prove that Wendover, however mistaken and puzzled, did not belong to the new school.

Independently of the impropriety, on general principles, of preferring late authorities to early evidences, there are grave difficulties in the way of adopting the theory of the Libellist. Of the four British kings who are mentioned by the Nennian Genealogist of 737 as warring with Ida's successors, Riderch Hen is the only one who occurs in any other grave

prose, and he occurs in Adomnan's Life of S. Columba and Joseceline's less trustworthy Life of S. Kentigern. He may fairly be considered as living until 600 or so. He was king of Strathclyde, and reigned at Alelyde or Dumbarton. His kingdom, apparently on good grounds, is considered, in Scotland, to have been consolidated, by the Battle of Arderydd in 573, and by the ruin of the petty states of which Urien's Reged was one. Urien was assassinated in the reign of Theodoric of Bernicia. The transposing theory places Theodoric's reign as late as 580-587, some years after the conclusive conflict. To the objection that Urien is made to fight with Hussa, the immediate predecessor of Æthelfrid, it is enough to reply that this notion merely depends on a fancy that *illos* of the MSS. of the Nennian Genealogies had better be *illum*. Petrie, in the Monumenta Historica, judged otherwise.

By the transposition Æthelric is postponed in succession not only to his younger brother Theodoric, but also to Frithwald and Hussa, who, with Glappa, have been called sons of Ida, but of whose descent we really know nothing at all. This succession is possible, not probable; and the statement of 737 that Æthelric the Bernician king was son of Adda is not lightly to be set aside. The language as to Æthelfrid's reign in Bernicia for 12 years, and in Deira for other 12, might perhaps be satisfied by change of capital, but it looks more like an allusion to enlarged sovereignty.

Yet it is not safe to conclude that the chronicler of 891 was romancing. Rather may we gather (especially as the name of Æthelfrid's kingdom, Northumbria, is an insertion) that he only knew that Æthelfrid reigned 24 years somewhere or other, that Æthelric preceded him, and that Ælla preceded Æthelric. Having nothing but the regnal years of those paynim times for his guidance (if he had them at all, for Æthelric's five years are the only regnal ones which are not insertions for the period), he dated back the Deiran princes from Æthelfrid's accession to Bernicia instead of his acquisition of Deira. The correction of his pardonable error explains Bede's mention in one breath of Ælla and Æthelfrid and Wendover's statement that Edwin was 17 years in exile.

1 GLAPPA = 559-560 GLAPPA occurs after Ida in the Short Northumbrian Chronology of 737 supported by the Chronicle ascribed to Symeon. According to a common rule of succession he might be a brother of Ida, but the omission of him in the Genealogies, and his short reign of one year, point to other blood and to violence. Nothing was more probable than a struggle for Ida's post after his death.

1	ADDA =	560-561	ADDA, son of Ida, comes next to Glappa,
2	.. =	561-562	and all the early and northern writers give
3	.. =	562-563	him a reign of 8 years.
4	.. =	563-564	In the Deiran chronology, <i>Iffi</i> , son of Usfrea,
5	.. =	564-565	would be cotemporary of the sons of Ida. It
6	.. =	565-566	has already been noticed that later writers,
7	.. =	566-567	owing to an erroneous computation, make <i>Ælla</i>
8	.. =	567-568	commence his reign in 560. <i>Æthelwerd's</i>

mode of mentioning it is this: "*Aelle quippe*

Iffing ad Northanhymbre seriem mittitur, quorum genus usque ad generalissimum ascendit, id est. ad Wothen."

1	ÆTHELRIC =	568-569	"ÆALDLRIC," son of Adda, ³ succeeded his
2	.. =	569-570	father for 4 years, according to the Genealogies.
3	.. =	570-571	The Short Chronicle, calling him Aedilric,
4	.. =	571-572	agrees.

This *Æthelric* and his successors *Theoderic*, *Frithwald*, and *Hussa*, are understood by *Petrie* to be the four kings mentioned in the following passage of the *Genealogies* which immediately succeeds the record of *Hussa*: "*Contra illos quatuor reges Urbgen, et Riderch Hen, et Guallauc et Morcant dimicaverunt.*" There is now a tendency to apply the words *quatuor reges* to the four British kings, leaving *illos* applicable to *Hussa's* predecessors generally. The suggestion of *illum* has already been noticed with disapprobation.

We have ascertained the existence of *Mailcun* in 560, the year after *Ida's* death. The latest date assigned by any writer for the termination of his reign is stated to be 585, and *Riderch Hen* or *Hael* is said to have died in the same year as *S. Kentigern*, 603. A third king, *Ædan*, invaded *Bernicia* in that year. These three men are understood to have become kings of *Wales*, *Strathclyde*, and *Dalriada* in the general. To this the clearing away of such famous men as *Urien* of *Rheged*, *Guallauc*, and *Morcant*, seems to be a condition precedent, and the earliest writings must be taken in their integrity. The names must be marshalled, as lawyers say, and not necessarily taken in the lump as antagonists together of any one king of *Bernicia* in particular.

For reasons already hinted at, it is believed that the commencement of *Ælla's* rule in *Deira* took place during the troubles of this *Æthelric's* time, and not in 560 on *Ida's* death. There may, however, have

³ "I still think that 'Aedric son of Adda' should be son of *Ida*. There is no question that one copy of the genealogies is very corrupt, and this seems to have been the view of all succeeding writers."—I. H. H.

been a tendency to severance of Deira, or rather a claim by Ælla's family to the whole rule of Northumbria from an earlier date. The first codex of the Chronicle, that of 891, in its original state, gives no regnal years for Ælla, and the later ones give 30 in words, but 28 in chronology.

1 THEODRIC = 572-573 The succession of THEODRIC, son of Ida, for
 2 .. = 573-574 7 years, indicates that Adda's posterity was ex-
 3 .. = 574-575 tinct or unfit to occupy the throne, and that
 4 .. = 575-576 an uncle of Æthelfrid had to take preference
 5 .. = 576-577 of him also. The times were troublous. So
 6 .. = 577-578 long as we hold to the old authorities, we can
 7 .. = 578-579 understand that the effect of the great battle
 of Arderydd in 573 was to amalgamate the

British kingdoms. It is clear that Urien was murdered in Theodric's reign, and the date of Theodric's accession, 572, synchronizes and places the murder at its commencement. "Deodric contra illum Urbgen cum filiis dimicabat fortiter." "In that time, one while the foes, at another the citizens, were vanquished. And he [Urbgen] shut them up for three days and three nights in the isle *Medcaut*, and while he was in the expedition he had his throat cut (*jugulatus est*) at the instigation of Morcant, out of envy, because in him, above all the kings, was the greatest valour in the prosecution of the war." As to the locality of all this, the Genealogist afterwards states that S. Cuthbert died "in the isle of *Medcaut*." Strictly, S. Cuthbert died at Farne Island, but it is obvious that the stronghold of Holy Island is alluded to by the Genealogist in his narrative of Theodric's extremity and the assassination of the British king. Any doubt is removed by the annals of Tighernac when in mentioning the foundation of the see of Lindisfarne they say "*Inis Metgoit* (*Insola Megoet*, *Ann. Ulst.*) fundata est."

Now our old Genealogist is remarkably borne out by the song upon the death of Urien, which is preserved in the Red Book of Hergest, xii. (Skene, i. 355.) As in the Cymric Genealogies of 977, Urien is stated to have been the son of Cynvarch. The poet represents himself as a messenger bearing with him the head of Urien, while a sable raven is put forward as preying on his white bosom. "A head I bear on my arm, he that overcame the land of Bryneich—the head, the most powerful pillar of Prydain.—A head I bear from the Riw, with his lips foaming with blood.—Woe to Reged.—Woe my hand that the father of Owain is slain.—In Aber Lleu has Urien been slain.—Dunawd, the leading horseman, would drive onward, intent upon making a corpse, against the onset of Owain. Dunawd, the chief of the age, would

drive onward, intent upon making battle, against the conflict of Pasgen. *Gwallawg*, the horseman of tumult, would drive onward, intent upon trying the sharpest edge against the conflict of Elphin. Bran, the son of Mellyrn, would drive onward, collecting men to burn my ovens: a wolf that looked grimly by the banks of Abers. *Morgant* and his men would drive onward, collecting a host to burn my lands: he was a mouse that scratched against a rock. I pushed onward when Elgno was slain; the blade which Pyll brandished would gleam terribly, if tents were pitched in his country. A second time I saw, after a conflict, a golden shield on the shoulders of Urien; a second to him was Elgno Hen. Upon the resolution there came a failing from the dread of a furious horseman: will there be another compared with Urien? Decapitated is my lord, his opponents are powerful: warriors will not love his enemies: many sovereigns has he consumed. The ardent spirit of Urien! it is sadness to me: there is commotion in every region, in pursuit of Llovan Llawdivro.—This hearth, will it not be covered by the greensward? In the lifetime of Owain and Elphin, its cauldron boiled the prey.—This hearth, will not the slender brambles cover it? Burning wood used to be on it, which Reged was accustomed to give.—This hearth, will it not be scratched up by the fowl? Want would not approach it in the lifetime of Owain and Urien. This buttress and that one there. More congenial around them would have been the joy of a host, and the tread of a minstrel.”

Here it plainly appears that *jugulatus*, the word used by the Genealogist, was in accordance with the wild minstrelsy which mourned over the death of Urien with two or three of his sons, Owen, Elfin, and Pasgen, and the destruction of the hospitable home of the chiefs of Rheged. *Gwallawg* and *Morgant*, both mentioned by the Genealogist, also occur. The name of the river, *Lleu*, is also correct. The Northern Low (the ancient Lindis), and the Southern Low, which gives name to Lowick and Lowlinn, meet just before they creep into the ocean opposite to Holy Island. Llovan Llawdivro or Llawdino, after whom the song says there was pursuit, is recorded in the Triads, as the author of one of the three detested assassinations of the island of Britain, in killing Urien.

The poems relating to Urien Reged, in the Book of Taliessin, generally end with “May I not be smiling, if I praise not Urien,” or with some similar expression. He is represented as having been elected Guledig or Leader in the Wars at Cattraeth, having most valiant children, and possessing “the most wide-spreading sword” among the thirteen kings of the north. One of his Anglian enemies is termed Ulph. A great battle at Argoed Llwyfain is stated to have been between

Urien (and his son Owain (and Flamdwyn, and by the latter, who may or may not have been one of the kings of Bernicia, Owain was on some occasion slain. "The soul of Owain son of Urien. May its Lord consider its need. The chief of Reged, the heavy sward conceals him. When Flamdwyn killed Owain, there was not one greater than he sleeping. A wide number of Lloegyr went to sleep with light in their eyes. And those that fled not instantly were beyond necessity. Owain valiantly chastised them, like a pack (of wolves) pursuing sheep. A worthy man, upon his many-coloured trappings, he would give horses to those that asked. While he hoarded hard money, it was not shared for his soul. The soul of Owain, son of Urien."

In the Verses of the Graves, in the Black Book of Caermarthen, we have a number of sepulchral localities, many of them probably on the hills. Stanza xiii. reads: "The Grave of Owain ab Urien in a secluded part of the world, under the sod of Llan Morvael; in Abererch, that Rhydderch Hael." There are also poems in praise of Gwallawg ap Llleenawg, who seems also to be called Guledig, though cotemporary with Urien. That some poems of this kind were in the mind of the Nennian Genealogist cannot well be doubted, and the Four Books may well convey much of the older matter in the altered garb of the period of transcription. In the poems relative to Urien, Guallauc, and Morcant (the three being, according to Genealogies of 977, third cousins, Morcant being once removed), Rydderch does not seem to occur, but he is prominent in the verses relative to the battle of Arderydd. The present writer does not wish to enlarge upon the localities mentioned in the poems or the boundaries of the kingdoms of their heroes, or the dates of the events alluded to. The famous battle of Cattraeth, wherever fought, is only alluded to in this place for the purpose of noting that Cacawaug, beloved friend of Owain, is related to have slain five battalions of the men of Deivyr and Brenneich, and that this sentence occurs: "If I had judged you to be on the side of the tribe of Brenneich, not the phantom of a man would I have left alive."

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| 1 | FRITHWALD = 579-580 | The ancestry of the next king, Fridolguald |
| 2 | .. = 580-581 | or FRIDUWALD, is unknown. The Geneal- |
| 3 | .. = 581-582 | ogies and Short Chronology agree in giving |
| 4 | .. = 582-583 | him six years. The Genealogies add to the |
| 5 | .. = 583-584 | notice of him this passage: "In whose time |
| 6 | .. = 584-585 | the realm of the Kentishmen, of Gregory's |
- mission, received baptism." So also the

Chronicle printed by Gale and by him ascribed to Asser, but which was written after his time (see *Mon. Hist.*, 79), states that Pope Gregory

sent Augustine to Britain with monks in the year 580 of our Lord's incarnation. Wendover, making Frethwulf reign in Bernicia from 570 to 577, asserts that "in 575, Benedict filled the Roman chair 4 years, 6 months, and 14 days. He gave permission to Pope Gregory to go and preach to the Angles, but the people tumultuously detained him."

Thus there seems to have been a notion that something connected with Christianity in Britain took place in Frithwald's time. Our first authority for the famous meeting at Rome between some Deiran boys and S. Gregory is Bede. According to him, Gregory was told that they came from the province of the Deiri, and that the name of the king of that province was *Ælla* (*var.* *Aelli*, *Ælle*, *Elle*). There is some difference of opinion (says Stevenson) as to whether the event took place during the pontificate of Benedict I., 573-577, or in that of Pelagius II., 578-590, Gregory's own years reaching from 590 to 604. The current of the events: "*mox ut ipse pontificatus officio functus est, perfecit opus diu desideratum*": seems to point to the pontificate of his immediate predecessor Pelagius. Bede only gives the story "*traditione majorum ad nos perlata*," but we may venture to consider *Ælla*, irrespectively of other evidence, as already reigning in Deira in the time of Frithwald. Edwin, *Ælla*'s son, was born sometime about the close of Frithwald's reign, Bede calling him 47 or 48 years old at the time of his death in 633.

There is an attractive scheme by which Frithwald is made one of the successors of *Ælla* in Deira from 592 to 598, comprising the period when Augustine came, but it must, on principle, be withstood. Rather let it be considered that the Genealogist classes the whole circumstances of conversion under the approximate date of the first of them.

That we have any very exact account of this first circumstance may, however, be reasonably doubted. Bede was not a Kentishman, and he hardly seems to have depended upon the details of the story as his countrymen had it. He introduces it with peculiar caution. "*Nec silentio prætereunda opinio quæ de B. Gregorio traditione majorum ad nos usque perlata est.—Dicunt &c.—Hæc juxta opinionem, quam ab antiquis accepimus, Historiæ nostræ Ecclesiasticæ inserere opportunum duximus.*" (H. E., ii. 2.) The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as we have it, makes no mention of any south country version of the story, but *Æthelwerd*, of the Wessex blood royal, writing in the 10th century, preserves for us the substance of a lost text which differed even from ours of 891, and gives us an account of the slave incident materially differing from Bede's tradition. The young men are not represented as slaves; the answers are given by themselves, not by the bystanders; they call

themselves Angles, but there is no punning by Gregory; there is no mention of Ælla or Deira: the men say that they are not Christians, for no one has opened their ears: and after another differing remark or two, they are led home by Gregory and baptised, and he is much disposed to return with them to their native country. But the most remarkable variation is that no lapse of time takes place between the interview and Augustine's mission. Gregory is represented as Pope at the time, and the objection of the Romans to his departure is founded upon that fact, and not on that of Gregory being a famous citizen, as Bede has it. There is no reason to prefer Æthelwerd's chronology, and, if it were correct, we should only have an additional evidence that Ælla was reigning in Deira as late as the time of Æthelfrid.

1	HUSSA = 585-586	The Genealogies and Short Chronology agree
2	.. = 586-587	in stating that HUSSA, the next king, reigned
3	.. = 587-588	seven years. He was the last of the kings
4	.. = 588-589	against whom "Urbgen, and Ridereh Hen, and
5	.. = 589-590	Guallauc, and Morcant fought." As in the
6	.. = 590-591	case of his predecessor, we know nothing of
7	.. = 591-592	his ancestry. The Saxon Chronicle of 1122

has a curious addition to the entry about the defeat of the Scots in 603 by Æthelfrid, the next king. He says that Hering the son of Hussa led them there.

1	ÆTHELFRED = 592-593	We now come to the great king ÆTHELFRED,
2	.. = 593-594	son of Æthelric, son of Ida. "Eadfered
3	.. = 594-595	Flesaur (var. Eadlfered Flesaur, Ealdfret

Flegaur) reigned xii years in Berneich, and other xii in Deur. One rule with another he reigned xxiv years. And he gave Dinguaroy to his wife, who is called Bebbab, and from the name of his wife it received its name, i. e. Bebbanburch." The short Chronology agrees in giving "Aedilfrid, xxiiii." Bede seems to agree in placing his beginnings in Bernicia (H. E., iii. 1), and he twice says that the royal city is named from a former queen called Bebbi (H. E., iii. 6 and 16). It is observable that in 1560, the castle of Holy Island, the locality of Theodric's defence, is surveyed as one "fort builded upon an hill called Beblawe." (Raine, 26.)

The Saxon Chronicle places the date of Æthelfrid's accession in 593 and his death in battle in 617. There is no earlier authority for these dates, and as there is no reason to deduct from the regnal years of him and Edwin or add to those of their predecessors, we may fairly read 592 and 616 as the true Christian years.

was almost cut to pieces "in loco celeberrimo qui dicitur Degsastan, id est Degsa lapis. In qua etiam pugna Theodboldus frater Æthelfridi, cum omni illo quem ipse ducebat exercitu peremptus est." This battle was fought in "603, in the 11th year of Æthelfrid, who reigned 24 years, and in the 1st year of Phocas who then held the Roman rule." Bede elsewhere makes 605 the 2nd year of Phocas, supposing that Gregory died in 605. But Stevenson notes that he really died in Mar. 604. The dates are therefore consistent.

The Chronicle of 891, before erasure, and those of 977 and 1066 agree in the simple entry under 603 of "Her was gefeoht at *Egesan stane*." If this really was the name of the place in those days, it seems so closely allied to the Eggascliff of 1084, now Egglecliffe on the Tees, that Eggleston on the same river naturally suggests itself rather than Dalston (anciently Dalaston, as in Testa de Nevill) in Cumberland, or Dawston in Liddesdale; particularly as Eggleston had a notable circle of stones (engraved by Hutchinson) and another big archaic monolith (mentioned to the writer by the clergyman of Laithkirk, W. R. Bell, who has every facility of obtaining local knowledge.⁵) One of the boundaries of Eggleston in the time of James I. is recorded in the great survey of the royal manors as "King's Cragg." This was the route said to have been taken by Malcolm in 1070, and to a Dalriadan prince, coming from Argyleshire against a Bernician enemy, may well have been preferred to the pass through the Cheviots up Dawston Burn. Ædan was concerned at Æthelfrid's successes against the Britons, who were on the west of the English, and would not be likely to part from the friendly coasts of Cumberland till it was absolutely necessary or advisable.

There was evidently a crisis at the period. But we cannot pretend to understand its details. Was Theodbold for or against his brother Æthelfrid? Was there an unnatural alliance between the kings of Deira and Dalriada as between Penda and Cadwalla in later days? What grounds had the interpolator of 1122 for adding to the Saxon Chronicle what looks very like truth, that Hering the son of Husa led the Scots hither? Whence did the Tighernac annalist derive his information for this entry: "600 k. v. (599) Cath Saxanum la h. Aedan ubi cecidit Eanfraich frater Etalfraich la Maeluma mac Baedain in quo victus erat."?

12 ÆTHELFRIÐ = 603-604 Another interesting event must be noticed under the year 603. S. Oswald, son of

⁵ He remarked to me that an invader from Scotland, wishing to avoid the east coast, would come down Teesdale by High-cup-nick or Eagles-chair, the rock on the left hand in coming from Westmerland.

Æthelfrid, was born in the next one, 604. We have seen how the Nennian Genealogist states that he gave Bambrough to his wife Bebbab. Bede, in mentioning how the arm and hand of S. Oswald were preserved in S. Peter's church "in urbe regia quæ a regina quondam vocabulo *Bebba* cognominatur," says, almost in the same breath (H. E., iii. 6), that Oswald was nephew of king Edwin by his sister *Acha*, and that it was fitting that such a predecessor should have of his own kindred such an heir of his religion and realm.

It is impossible, in face of such language, to identify Bebbab and Acha with each other. Was Bebbab first or second queen? Under what circumstances did Æthelfrid give Bambrough to her?

The Genealogist says that Æthelfrid had seven sons, Anfrid, Osguald, Osbiu, Osguid, Osgudu, Oslaph, Offa. The Libellus, t. Hen. I., says that "he had seven sons, Eanfrid; and; by the sister of king Edwin, the daughter of Ella, Acca; Oswald, Oswi, Oslac, Oswudu, Osa, Offa." Florence gives all the sons to Acha, and ranges them thus, Eanfrid, Oslaf, Oslac, S. Oswald the king, king Oswi, Offa, and Oswudu. As Oswald certainly succeeded Eanfrid, and the language of Bede leads to the impression that Eanfrid was no relation of the christian Edwin, it seems probable that Florence is less trustworthy than the Libellus, and that Eanfrid was by a former wife. Considering that the other six sons with S. Ebba, a daughter of Acha, would occupy the rest of Æthelfrid's reign pretty well, we may conclude that the first wife was Bebbab. Oswald being born in 604, the last year of Æthelfrid in Bernicia, or his first in Deira, the marriage with Acha cannot have been later than 603 or the beginning of 604. It is not a usual thing for a monarch to present his capital to his queen. But a divorcee, and a marriage with a Deiran princess, and seizure of her father's throne on the termination of the reign of an interloper, will explain all.

13 ÆTHELFRID = 604-605 The 13th year of the reign of Æthelfrid in Bernicia was his first in Deira. We are ignorant of the circumstances of Æthelric's end. Under any, Æthelfrid would probably have been his successor. Edwin was only aged 18, and in exile. Æthelfrid, flushed with English victory, would, if only an infant when his uncle Theodric succeeded, be now at least 33; and his wife was probably the eldest member of the Deiran house. Another sister, we know, was very much older than her brother Edwin, for Hereric, the nephew of Edwin, father of S. Hilda in 614, and earlier still, as it seems, of her sister Heresuid queen of the East Angles, could scarcely be born later than 595, when his uncle Edwin would be hardly 10 years old.

14 ÆTHELFRIÐ = 605-606 While Edwin was in exile, two sons,
 15 .. = 606-607 Osfrid and Eadfrid, were borne to him by
 16 .. = 607-608 Quoenburga, daughter of Cearl, king of
 17 .. = 608-609 Mercia. (H. E., ii. 14.) At the court of
 18 .. = 609-610 Redwald, he is said by Bede to have received
 19 .. = 610-611 a sign from a stranger that he should be a
 20 .. = 611-612 king more powerful, not only than *all his*
 21 .. = 612-613 *progenitors*, but all previous kings of the
 22 .. = 613-614 English. In 616, as it appears from the reg-
 23 .. = 614-615 nal years, Redwald, refusing to surrender
 24 .. = 615-616 Edwin, slew Æthelfrid in battle.

1 EDWIN = 616-617 Redwald succeeded Æthelbert of Kent as
 2 .. = 617-618 supreme ruler in England in 616. Edwin
 3 .. = 618-619 became king of all Northumbria, as Æthel-
 4 .. = 619-620 frid had been before him. He occurs thus
 5 .. = 620-621 in the Genealogies: Eoguín (*var.* Eaguín)
 6 .. = 621-622 filius Alli, reigned 17 years, and he occupied
 7 .. = 622-623 Elmet, and expelled Certic king of that
 8 .. = 623-624 region." The Short Chronology agrees in
 9 .. = 624-625 giving "Aeduini, xvii."

10 .. = 625-626 On 12 cal. Aug., 21 July, 625, Paulinus
 was ordained bishop: and then he came with
 Æthelberga, alias Tate, daughter of Æthelbert the late king of Kent,
 "ad regem Edwinum quasi comes copulæ carnalis." (H. E., ii. 9.) On
 20 April, 626, primo die paschæ, Edwin was preserved from assassina-
 tion, and that night, eadem nocte Dominici paschæ, his queen bore a
 daughter Eanfled or Elfled, mayhap rather prematurely. She was bap-
 tized die sancto (in sabbato) pentecostes, 8 June (H. E., ii. 9, and
 Epit.), or on the twelfth day after Pentecost.

11 EDWIN. = 626-627 (H. Brit., c. 66, and Geneal.) Within a
 twelvemonth afterwards, Edwin was bap-
 tized in a hastily built church of wood at York, at Easter, 2 id. April,
 12 April, 627, D., in his 11th year. (H. E., ii. 14.) S. Hilda was bap-
 tized at the same time. (H. E., ii. 23.) Paulinus, who officiated, is
 call Rum or Run map Urbgen in the Nennian Genealogies, and Edwin's
 subjects who were baptized with him are termed Angli Trans-Umbranæ
 gentis by Bede (Chron.), genus Ambrorum by the Nennian Genealo-
 gist, id est Ald Saxonum according to the work ascribed to Nennius
 himself.

12	EDWIN	=	627-628	During the next "six years" Paulinus
13	..	=	628-629	continued in Edwin's province, "that is, to
14	..	=	629-630	the end of his reign." Osfrid and Eanfrid,
15	..	=	630-631	his sons by Quoenburga were baptized. After-
16	..	=	631-632	wards his children by Æthelburga, viz.
17	..	=	632-633	Æthelhun and Æthelthryd; a daughter,

and Vuscfrea, another son, were also baptized. Æthelhun and Æthelthryd died infants, and were buried in the church of York. Yffi son of Osfrid, and other nobles, were also baptized. (H. E., ii. 14.)

After Edwin "had ruled for 17 years over the race of the English as well as that of the Britons, during 6 of which he had fought for Christ's kingdom," he was slain by Cædwalla, the rebellious king of the Britons, and Penda, who for 22 years was king of the Mercians, at Hæthfelth (H. E., ii. 20) or Meican (Gen. Nenn.) Edwin was aged 47 or 48. His head was brought to York and afterwards placed in S. Peter's church there, which he had begun by enclosing the wooden baptistry with quadrilateral walls of stone. Oswald his successor completed it. The head was deposited in the porch of pope Gregory, from whose disciples he had received the Word of Life. (H. E., ii. 20.)

On the death of Edwin, Paulinus returned to Kent, taking with him qucen Ethelberge, Bassus, a valiant soldier of the king, Eantied the daughter, and Vuscfrea the son of Edwin, and Yffi son of Osfrid his son. Osfrid himself had fallen in the war before his father. Eadfrid his brother fled to Penda and was put to death during the reign of Oswald. The Nennian Genealogies agree with this statement of Bede in substance, but they make Osfrid and Eadfrid to perish with their father in bello Meican. Vuscfrea and Yffi were sent to France for protection from Oswald. They died infants, and were buried in a church there. (H. E., ii. 20.) And thus ended Edwin's issue in the male line.

The date of the fatal battle was 12 Oct., 4 id. Oct. 633. (H. E., ii. 20.) And from it the years of Oswald were reckoned, although he did not actually succeed until a year afterwards. In 635 the see of Lindisfarne was founded, and the episcopal years commence. With the death of Edwin, the introducer of Christianity into Northumberland, this essay appropriately concludes.

Not only in war was his standards (vexilla) bore before him, but even in time of peace, when he rode with his officers among his cities, or vills or provinces, the standard-bearer (signifer) was always wont to go before him. Also, whenever he walked along the streets, that kind of standard (vexilli) which the Romans call *Tufa*, and the Angles *Tunf* (var. *Thunf*), was borne before him. (H. E., ii. 17.) The *Tufa*,

mentioned by Vegetius, quoted by Smith, was a tuft of feathers affixed to a spear. (Stevenson's note.)

In later days, when it was thought proper to allot armorial bearings to Saxon saints and kings, we read in Leigh's *Accidence* that "*Azure, a cross flurte Or*, were the arms of Edwine the first christian king of Northumberland." The coat in the central tower of York Minster, *Three crowns, two and one*, which, according to the tinctures, might be for either S. Oswin or S. Edmund, has been ascribed to S. Edwin, and that next to it, with *Three crowns in pale*, like the Irish device on the coins of Edward IV., has been attributed to king Oswald. Speed gives for Ælla and Edwin of the Deiran house *A lion rampant*, and for Ida, Æthelfrid, and Oswald of the Bernician house *Paly of six*. With Oswi he commences the coat of *A plain cross between four lions*, the discussion of which belongs to the subject of the arms of Oswald and Cuthbert in connection with Durham. From Camden's *Remains* it would appear that the paly coat ascribed to the early kings of Bernician blood is derived from the notion that "King Oswald had a bannerroll of *Gold and purple, interwoven paly or bendy*, set over his tomb at Bardney Abbey in Lincolnshire." That his *vezillum* was set over his tomb, is indeed stated by Bede (H. E., iii. 11), but he merely says that it was made of *Gold and purple* (*auro et purpura compositum*), leaving the design an open question.

As Bede in his account of Oswald says expressly that before his time there was not a church in Bernicia (H. E., iii. 2), and no early authority mentions Edwin's erection of a wooden sacellum at Tynemouth or his daughter Rosella who is said to have been baptized in it, the statements of such events by a chronicle of S. Alban's, the enemy of Durham, may be set down to a wish to glorify Tynemouth. His other statements, to the effect that Oswald converted the wooden monasteriolum into a stone one, that in Coquet island there was a cœniobiolum of the monks of Tynemouth, that in the region of Tynemouth there was a city called Urfa, where Oswin was born, and which was afterwards wasted by the Danes, and that the site of Tynemouth monastery was by the Saxons called Benebalcrag or Penbalcrag, must be taken cautiously.

W. HYLTON DYER L.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE RADCLIFFE PEDIGREE.

RECENT events having attracted much notice to the history of the ill-fated Earl of Derwentwater—a narrative, the interest of which is not likely to die out—there have been engrafted upon the Radcliffe Pedigree some erroneous statements, which ought not to pass without notice, since they are at variance with all that has hitherto been known with regard to the Earl's immediate descendants.

The marriage, in 1712, of James, the 3rd Earl of Derwentwater, to Anne Maria, daughter of Sir John Webb, Bart., by whom he had a son and daughter, the Earl's participation in the rebellion of 1715, and his unfortunate end, are circumstances too well known to need more than recapitulation.

It was always understood that the Earl's son, John Radcliffe—an infant at his father's death—only survived him sixteen years, and died a minor.

After having prevailed uninterruptedly for upwards of a century, and formed the basis of family succession, this belief is now, for the first time, disturbed.

John Radcliffe's decease in 1731 is called in question; his death is pronounced an invention—his obsequies a sham. He is spirited away from Paris to Germany—is provided there with a wife and family; instead of a premature death, abundant length of days is vouchsafed to him, and his life is protracted to the venerable age of eighty-five.

When a fact, which has been unhesitatingly received throughout several generations, and never, until now, critically regarded, comes to be questioned, it is well to inquire upon what grounds contemporaries founded their belief in the fact.

In the obituary of the Gentleman's Magazine for 1731, vol. i. p. 541, the demise was thus announced :

Dec. 31.—The E. of *Derwentwater*, at Sir *John Webb's*, his Father-in-Law (*mistake for grandfather*) in *Great Marlborough Street*, having been lately cut for the Stone. He was the only Son of the late E. of *Derwentwater*, who was beheaded in 1716."

The Historical Register for the same year, with more time to test the accuracy of the news than the magazine might have, records the event thus :

“ 1731, Dec. 31.—This Day dy'd of an Ulcer in his Kidneys, *James (misprint for John) Earl of Derwentwater*, at Sir *John Webb's*, in *Great Marlborough Street*. He was the only surviving son of the late Earl of *Derwentwater*, who was beheaded in 1716, by *Anne Maria*, Daughter of the said Sir *John Webb*.”

The widow of James, Earl of Derwentwater, is understood to have died at Louvain, in 1725, and to have been buried in the Augustine Convent there.

Her son, John Radcliffe, is found to have been interred in the same convent. The establishment was removed, in 1794, to England, and is now settled at Newton Abbot, in Devonshire.

The archives of the convent accompanied the nuns to this country. Amongst their records are the following entries :

“ 1725.—My Lady Webb sent us 15 guineas on account of the Countess of Derwentwater being buried in our church.”

“ 1732.—Sir John Webb gave us 20 guineas for burying Lord Derwentwater.”

The death, in 1725, of the Countess of Derwentwater has not been questioned.

If her son did not, seven years afterwards, follow her to the grave, his maternal grandfather must have been under a strange delusion on the subject.

Not less strange would it have been that John Radcliffe should, a month before the date assigned for his death, have made a will, and that his grandfather should, a few weeks after the supposed death of the testator, have proved the will.

At Doctors' Commons is duly enrolled a will, dated the 18th November, 1731, purporting to be made by John Ratcliffe, commonly called Earl of Darwentwater, and signed “ John Ratcliffe, Darwentwater..”

Amongst other bequests, legacies are left to his aunt, Lady Mary Petre, and his grandfather, Sir John Webb, Bart.

On the 28th January, 1732, probate of the will was granted to Sir John Webb and Nathaniel Pigott, the executors.

Five months after the reputed death of John Radcliffe his sister, Ann Radcliffe, was married to Robert James, Lord Petre. In the marriage settlement (which is enrolled on the Close Rolls), dated 29th April,

1732, the intended bride is described as "Ann Radcliffe, commonly called the Lady Ann Radcliffe, *only surviving child* of James, late Earl of Derwentwater, deceased."

By the marriage settlement, in 1712, of her father, power was given to raise a sum of £20,000 for a daughter or daughters *in default of male issue*.

That sum is referred to in the marriage settlement of Lady Ann Radcliffe, as part of her portion, and as "secured upon the estate late of the said James Earl of Derwentwater.

So much for the contemporary evidence of the death, in 1731, of John Radcliffe.

In addition to having been universally accepted, the event was stated to have influenced the family succession.

On the death of John Radcliffe without issue, the heir to the title, had it subsisted, and estates, would have been his uncle, Charles Radcliffe, only brother of the unfortunate Earl.

For the active part he took in the first rebellion, Charles Radcliffe had the singular fate of suffering in the second—at an interval of 30 years.

Whilst in exile, Charles Radcliffe was married at Brussels, in 1724, to Caroline, Countess of Newburgh.

Their first child was born in France—the rest at Rome, where other members of the Radcliffe family had taken refuge.

The eldest son, James, was baptised, in 1725, at Vincennes, as the son of "Messire Charles Radcliffe et de dame Charlotte Levinson née Countess de Newbrough son epouse."

Their daughter, Barbara Radcliffe, was baptized at S. Lorenzo, in Damaso, Rome, on the 18th March, 1728, as "nat. ex illmo D. Carolo Radcliffe Ex Sexia in Anglia et illma D. Carlotte Comitissa de Newburgh."

The sponsors were "Joes Radcliffe conġ de Darwentwater," represented by Mr. Patrick Darey; and Lady Barbara Webb, who also appeared by proxy.

On the 13th January, 1730, Ann Thomasin Radcliffe another daughter, was baptised at the same church, as the child of Count Charles Radcliffe and the Countess of Newburgh.

On the 24th July, 1730, Count William Radcliffe, uncle of Earl James and of Charles Radcliffe, made his will, at Rome, and left to his great nephew (*pronipote*) the Earl of Derwentwater a painting by Pietro da Cortona.

He left various legacies to his nephew (*nipote*) Charles Radcliffe, and his wife the Countess of Newburgh.

The christian name of the first legatee is not given, but, as the testator distinguished between his great nephew and his nephew, the former, doubtless, indicated John Radcliffe.

His existence and his *status* were therefore distinctly recognised, both by his uncle, Charles Radcliffe, the heir presumptive to the title, and by his great uncle, William Radcliffe.

So long as John Radcliffe lived his relatives seem to have been careful not to infringe any family right. His death, under age, on the last day of 1731, opened the succession to his uncle.

Not long after the nephew's death the uncle assumed the family title.

On the 6th April, 1732, his daughter, Lady Maria Radcliffe, was baptised at S. Lorenzo in Lucina, Rome, as "*Natam ex Domino Carolo Radelyffe Londinen. mylord Darwentwater et ex Carlotta de Livingstone comitissa Newburgh.*"

On the 22nd July, in the same year, another son, James Clement Radcliffe, was baptised at the same church, as "*Infans ex illmo et exmo D. Carolo Radcliffe milord Darwentwater.*"

Again, in the funeral register, at Rome, in 1734, of his daughter, Ann Thomasin, the father appears as "*Signor milord Carolo Darwentwater Inglese.*"

It is needless, perhaps, to adduce further proof that the public belief, at the time, in the death of John Radcliffe, was shared by his family, and that they acted upon that belief.

The public records, and the legislation of later years with regard to the Radcliffe family and their estates in Northumberland and Cumberland exhibit few distinct references to the death of John Radcliffe, but all assume the fact. A circumstance of such recent occurrence seems to have been taken for granted.

The 28 Geo. III. c. 63, however, (by which the Derwentwater Estates were charged with £2,500 per annum to Anthony James, Earl of Newburgh, Grandson of Charles Radcliffe) alludes thus to the event:—

"And whereas the said John Radcliffe departed this life sometime in or about the year of our Lord 1731, before he had attained his age of 21 years, without issue and unmarried."

Into the genealogical superstructure that has been raised upon the hypothesis of John Radcliffe's having attained old age and left a family it is unnecessary to enter; it being sufficient to shew that the first step rests upon an imaginary foundation.

THE BRIDEKIRK FONT.

"OLD NORTHERN RUNIC MONUMENTS," p. 491.

I BELIEVE I have now found who the RICHARD was that sculptured the striking Bridekirk Runic Font. If so, I was right in assigning its date—on independent internal grounds—to the 12th century, not the 13th.

Lately, again looking through the excellent edition of the Boldon Buke¹ by my learned friend the Rev. W. Greenwell, M.A., I was struck at pp. 2 and 43 by the following :

"Willelmus quondam Abbas de Burgo tenet Newtonam juxta Dun-olm. de accommodatione et elemosina Domini Episcopi, et reddit pro medietate domini quam Ricardus ingeniator tenuit, j. marcam."

William, sometime Abbot of Peterborough holds Newton near Durham, by the accommodation and alms of the Lord Bishop, and renders, for the moiety of the demesne which Richard the Architect held, one mark."

Mr. Greenwell adds in a note :

"Richard was a man of some note in his profession ; he was employed by Bishop Pudsey about the repair of Norham Castle. Reginald, in his Life of St. Cuthbert (Surtees Soc.), ch. 47, 54, tells an interesting story about him, and says 'Cunctis regionis hujus incolis arte et nomine notissimus est.' He and his heir, Thomas, granted land in Wolviston to the Prior and Convent of Durham in exchange for a carncate of land in Pittington."

What was this "interesting story"? It is told diffusively by Reginald in his ch. 47, shorter, with some variations, in ch. 54. The substance is : A pious layman, who showed his faith by his works, like many other simple people carried about him some amulets, half-christian charms and spells, with verses of scripture, &c. A familiar friend, a monk of St. Cuthbert, who also bore on his person a kind of amulet, a little manuscript life of the saint, and, hidden in the binding-boards, a morsel of the chasuble which had lain by his body, showed

¹ Boldon Buke, a Survey of the Possessions of the See of Durham, made by order of Bishop Hugh Pudsey, in the year 1183. With a translation, an appendix of original documents, and a Glossary. By the Rev. W. Greenwell, M.A. 8vo. Durham, 1852. (Published by the Surtees Society.)

Richard this last treasure. But its sight excited holy and eager longings, and at last, overcome by his prayers, the monk gave the layman a bit of the costly fragment. For this and his other talismans Richard procured a rich silken case or bag, and constantly went with them on his person. One of the first fruits of this devotion was, that Bishop Pudsey made him his Master of the Works for the improvements at Norham Castle, and here Richard was always boasting of his precious safeguards. A certain ecclesiastic at Norham, a Frenchman, heard often of this hidden belt, and one day—Richard having gone to Berwick, and in his haste forgotten it—he happened to find it. Quickly tearing it open to see what jewels were within, what was his disappointment to find that the chief treasure was—a tiny lave of whitish cloth! Angry and disgusted, the French priest threw the relic into the fire, where it remained for a couple of hours. But it took no harm, would not burn, and so the Frenchman lifted the wondrous morsel from the coals, humbly restoring it to the returning Richard, and announced the token to all the bystanders.

Reginald says that he himself had seen the bit of cloth, and that it was whiter and brighter after its fire-bath than the robe from which it had been cut; all which only shows that it was woven of *amianthus*, or earth-flax, a kind of asbestos, which for thousands of years has been used for making incombustible stuffs. And this reminds us of the equally “unburning” hair of St. Cuthbert, evidently fabricated of *gold-wire*, a few years before, by that cunning and impudent relic-thief Elfred Westow. (See Symeon of Durham, ch. 42; Reginald, ch. 26; and the Rev. James Raine’s valuable St. Cuthbert, 4to, Durham, 1828, p. 59.)

As we have seen, it was while Richard was superintending the works at Norham Castle that the “miracle” in question took place, that is to say about the year 1171. Reginald wrote his book about 1172, and in the chapters on Richard that craftsman is still living (*cognominatus est*,” “*notissimus est*,” *not fuit*). But he was dead before 1183, for this is the date of the Boldon Buke, when Abbot William had followed him (how long before we do not know) as tenant of Newton. The works at Norham were too extensive to have been finished in one year (1171), and while engaged thereon Richard could neither have time nor wish to descend to simple stone-cutting with his own hands. He doubtless therefore carved the font either before his elevation to the post of Master-builder at Norham, that is, say, some time between 1150 and 1170, or else after his finishing those works, and his death, say about 1172 to 1180. *The former* is the more likely, as handiwork would better suit a clever journeyman than a renowned architect.

After praising his simplicity and piety, Reginald adds about him (ch. 47), "*artificiosus fuisset opere, et prudens architectus in omni structurâ artis forissecæ,*" *that he was most skilful in his work, and a careful architect (talented constructor) in all kinds of outdoor building*; and (ch. 54), "*Vir iste Ricardus Ingeniator dictus cognominatus est, qui Dunelmensis civis effectus cunctus regionis hujus incolis arte et nomine notissimus est.*" *This man Richard is well known by his title of the Engineer (Architect), and, having become a burgher of Durham, is celebrated both by name and fame to all the men of this region* (at least including the counties of Durham, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland).

Thus, according to all testimony, he was a worthy, highly respected artist, pious beyond the average, and distinguished as a gifted craftsman long before the favour shown him by Bishop Pudsey. It is also evident that he became a man of substance. That he was a native Northumbrian is plain, for otherwise the contrary would have been pointed out by Reginald, in the same way as he is careful to tell us that the clerk who stole his belt was "*Francigena,*" a Frenchman. When Richard was born, and when he died, I do not know. The dates will be something like A.D. 1120 and 1180.

GEORGE STEPHENS.

SURVEY OF THE MANOR HOUSE OF STOCKTON, COMMONLY CALLED STOCKTON CASTLE, TAKEN AFTER THE DEATH OF BISHOP PILKINGTON.

COMMUNICATED BY CANON RAINE FROM A BUNDLE OF PAPERS IN THE YORK
ECCLESIASTICAL COURT, RANGING OVER YEARS BEFORE AND AFTER 1574.

STOCKTON. THE verdict and presentment of the jurye whose names are
UPON TEASE. herunder written taken and made the xth of September
anno regni Elizabeth Dei gratia Angliæ, etc. xix^o, upon
the vewe and surveye of the mannour howse of Stockton upon Tease in
the County of Duresme with all other howses and buildinges belongynge
unto the said mannour in what decay and ruynes they were at the deathe
of the late reverend father in God James late busshopp of Duresme, and
what would repaire the same agayne in all thinges necessary.

First the Barne beinge of lxiiij yardes in length, xiiij yardes brode,
boulded of post & pan and covered with slate all savinge xvij yardes in
length which is decaied of slate and covered with strawe; the walles
beinge iiij yardes high with a xj butteresses on either syde, and xj
yardes depe of thatch on either side. The walles and buttresses sore
decaied and ruynouse, and the said slate woorke decayed for lacke of

poyntinge; and some parte of the tymbre rotten and shott owt, will amownte for repayinge of the same in tymbre slate and stone, in woorkmanshipp and other thinges necessary for the same to the some of cx^{li}.

The Hall beinge xxj yardes in length, xj yardes brode within the walles; the walles beinge ix yardes high and iiij foote thicke; which hath had one flowre and one roufe of tymbre of the said length and bredth, which hath ben covered with leade, with v wyndowes with two leaves a pece ij yardes high every wyndow & v quarters brode all decayed in tymbre, leade, iron & glasse, nothinge remaynyng but the walles, which are broken and ruynouse, will amount, to be repaired in all thinges necessary, to the some of v^cx^{li}.

The Tower north of the Chaple of xv yardes longe and xiiij yardes brode xij yardes high, decayed in the battlement & for lacke of pointinge, to be repaired as it ought will amount to xxxvij^{li}.

The Westmote Tower on the north syde beinge vij yardes in length, v yardes brode & xij yardes high beinge lykewise decayed in battlement & for lacke of pointinge, to be repaired necessary, or as it ought, will amount to the some of v^{li}. x^s.

The walles of the Chambre adjoyninge unto the Lorde's Chambre called the Chamberlaynes Chamber, from the West Tower unto the Greate Chambre on the north syde of the howse beinge xxj (*sic*) in length, iiij yardes brode, & xij yardes high lackinge the battlement and decayed for lacke of pointinge, to be repaired necessarily or as it ought will amount to the some of xxj^{li}. x^s.

The walles of the Chambre adjoyninge to the Greate Chambre on the north syde, beinge xxv yardes longe, x yardes in breadth, & xv yardes high, decayed for lacke (of) pointyng, to be repaired as nede requyreth, and as it ought, will amount to the some of ix^{li}. xv^s.

The walles on the west square of the Gardener beinge lx yardes in length, viij yardes in bredth & xv yardes high, decayed & to be repaired will amount to the some of xxxv^{li}.

The walles of the Gardener on the south square, beinge lxxij yardes in length vij yardes & di. brode, and viij yardes high, with stables under the said Gardener, beinge decayed for lak of poyntinge & in planks and mangers to be repaired will amount to the some of xxxvij^{li}.

The Kytchinge beinge xiiij yardes square within the walles, v yardes high & iiij yardes thicke, which hath had a rowfe of tymbre & covered with slate of ix yardes depe, with a loover of leadd & guttered rounde abowt w^t leade, which is all pulled downe & nothinge remaynyng neither tymbre slate nor leade which was pulled downe by the commaundment of James late busshopp of Duresme, to be repaired againe and made as good as it hath ben will amount to cx^{li}.

Item one other Howse adjoyning to the north-ende of the said kitchinge of lyke square, which is lykewyse decayed & nothinge remaynyng but ruynous walles, to be repaired will amount xxiiij^{li}. x^s.

Item one Howse for a Horse Milne, the walles being xvj yardes longe, xiiij yardes brode, iiij yardes high & ij foote thicke, which hath had a roufe of tymbre covered with slate and guttered rounde abowt w^t leade, all decayed & downe to be repaired in tymbre, slate, leade, & stone, coste lxxiiij^{li}. x^s. iiijd.

Item one Kylne, the walles beinge xvj yardes longe xiiij yardes brode & ij yardes high, which hath had a roufe of tymbre covered with slate all decaied, to be repaired will amount to xxxv^{li}.

Item one Howse adjoyninge to the said Kilne w^t two flowers for floweringe malt, the walles beinge in length xxvij yardes, in bredth ix yardes & in hight vj yardes, which hath had ix dormauntes of tymbre w^t a flower on them; which said flower and dormountes were taken downe by the commaundment of James late busshopp of Duresme; both the gavell endes downe from the syde wall upp; which howse was guttered rounde abowte w^t leade, which leade was also taken away by commaundment of the said late James busshopp of Duresme; which to be repaired agayne into as good state will amount to the some of lxx^{li}.

Item the Brewhowse and Backhowse with a Chambre at either ende; the walles beinge xli yardes longe & x yardes brode, covered with slate of x yardes on either syde, decaied in stone slate and tymbre for lacke of poyntinge to be repaired will amount to xxvij^{li}.

Item the Chaple beinge xxj yardes longe & vj yardes deepe on either syde, with one to-fall on either syde, with iiij tirrettes adjoyninge to the same on the north square decaied in leade and to be repaired againe therwith and the woorkmanship will amount to vj^{li}. xiiij^s. iiij^d.

Item the Leades on the Greate Chambre beinge xx yardes longe & xv yardes brode which are sore decaied & muste be caste a newe, which will requyre iiij ffoothers of leade, which we esteme with the woorkmanship will amounte to xxxvj^{li}.

Item the Leades over the Chambre at th'ende of the said Greate Chambre on the north square beinge xxx yardes in length and x yardes brode, beinge decaied in riggyng and fillettes will requyre one ffoother of leade; which with the woorkmanship will amount x^{li}. x^s.

Item the Leades over the Gardeners on the west square in length lv yardes, in bredth ix yardes, w^t a Tower at the north ende of the same iiij square, which was covered which the said James late busshopp caused to be taken away and uncovered: which Tower is yet bare. And also a Tower at the south ende of the said Gardeners covered w^t leade, which is viij yardes longe, & v yardes brode: which leades will requyre for the repayringe the same in suche places as they are decaied iiij ffoothers of leade, which with woorkmanship wilbe xxx^{li}.

Item the Leades on the south square beinge lxxij yardes longe & vij yardes di. brode beinge decaied in dyvers places will requyre one ffoother of leade, which with woorkmanship wilbe vj^{li}. xiiij^s. iiij^d.

Item xvij longe spowtes of Leade of viij yardes deepe with iiij half spowtes cutt away, a greate decay to the walles, will requyre ij ffoothers of leade to repayre the same, which we esteme with the woorkmanship will amounte to the some of xvij^{li}. x^s.

Item decayed in Glasse in the entry to the Parlour and in the Chambers above the same cvj foote. One Chambre next unto the same xl foote. In the Buttery viij foote. The Tower over the Stayers xlvij foote. In the Parlour & Greate Chambre l foote. In the Chaple & Revestry lx foot. iiij other Chambres in the north square xvj foote. iij Chambres in the north syde of the Chaple xxxij foote. In the Pantery & one Chambre adjoyninge to the same with a wyndowe goinge to the Wyne Seller xxxij foote. In the Kylne & the Howse adjoyninge to the same cj foote. In the Chambre over the Backhouse xiiij foote.

Some of the footes v^{viiij}; which we esteme to x^d the foote for glasse, leade, sowder, & woorkmanshipp will amounte to the some of xxj^{li}. ij^s. vj^d.

Item decayed in Iron for stancyons for wyndowes & dore crookes, as amounteth to x^{li}. xv^s.

Item one Stathe of Tymbre forannempst the said howse for the defence of the water of Tease of vij^{xx} yardes longe, which is sore decaied and worne away in dyvers places. Which Stathe except it be repaired the said water will undermyne the said howse, for it ebbeth and floweth every tyde at the said Stathe and viij myles above it. Which to repayre will cost cccxxx^{li}.

Item we doo fynde and present that the said James late bushopp of Duresme dyd command two footthers of leade to be caryed by his tenants of Norton & Hartborne from the said howse of Stockton unto Hartlepole and delyver it unto one Parrett of the same—xiiij^{li}.

Item we doo fynde that one John Lever, servaunt to the said James late busshopp did sell v stone of leade of the said howse unto William Swaynston of Stockton for x^d the stone, which is valued to iiij^s. ij^d.

Item we doo fynde that there was xxx^{ti} footthers of stone caryed from the said howse unto Norton mylne by the commandment of the said late busshopp, esteemed to xx^s.

Summa totalis m. dlxxxv^{li}. iiij^d.

Bryan Tunstall.	Richarde Johnson.	Anthony Harpeley.
Anthony Wrenne.	Thomas Wilson.	Nicholas Fleteham.
Robert Gates.	Rauffe Bayles.	William Blaxton.
William Elis.	John Thompson.	William Fletham.
Nicholas Harperley.	Cuthbert Forster.	William Burden.
Roger Weede.	Thomas Cully.	Edmunde Fewter.
Thomas Blaxton.		Thomas Kitchyn.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Stockton was in the parish of Norton, and was severed from it by Act of Parliament in 1711.

“Northtun by metes, and with men and all that thereunto serveth, with sac and with soken,” was given to S. Cuthbert about 952. (*Liber Vitæ*.)

The Bishops of Durham, with their castle of Durham, had fortified residences between Tyne and Tees at Auckland, Middleham, and Stockton.

Bishop Hugh Pusat built suitable houses wherever the former ones were unfit for the episcopal dignity. (*Coldingham*.)

Above the door of the “sort of embattled cowhouse,” mentioned by Surtees as marking the site of “Stockton Castle,” was a stone with the *nutmeg* ornament of Pusat’s time; and other carved stones, now or lately in the town, are decidedly transitional in character.

"In Stockton—Robert de Cambous—has the old toft of the hall near his house, and renders therefore 16^d. An oxgang of land, which the Bishop has across Teis, opposite the hall, renders 4^s." (Boldon Buke, 1183, p. 14.)

"Bishop Richard [de Kellaw] who previously had built the beautiful chamber [which may mean a suite of rooms] of Stockton—died—1316." (Graystones, p. 97.)

"Stockton town.—Freeholders.—John Elvet holds—a toft and an oxgang of land and three acres of meadow, formerly of Richard de Stockton, clerk,—on the south side of Tese-water opposite the manor-house, rendering—13^s. 4^d."

"Exchequer Lands.—Richard Maunce for a place of land, *citus manerii*, for enlarging his house, rendering yearly 4^d." "Chantry Lands.—An old toft, formerly Robert de Coum's for the site of his hall, which used to render yearly 16^d."—"There is there a built manor-house, whose site is worth nothing beyond the reprise of the houses there." (Hatfield's Survey.)

The early charters dated here are *apud*, or *in manerio nostro, de Stoketon*.

But as early as 1345, Bishop Hatfield dates a confirmation "*in castro nostro de Auckland* (Rot. Nevil), and in his Survey, with "*portam manerii*," we also have "*le Netherorcheard in banco sub muro castri*." In 1396, Bp. Skirlaw summoned Wm. Lambton, domicellus, to appear at Auckland, "*manerio immo verius castro, muris et turribus ad instar castri constructo et fossis circumdato*." He did not dare to go, and the Bishop threatened to imprison him. (York Eccl. Appeals.)

In 1489, Bp. Sherwood calls Auckland his "castle or manor."

Leland, who strangely omits Witton, Raby, Brancepeth, and Hilton, from his list of Durham castles, and imports Prudhoe from Northumberland, includes Stockton and Auckland.

Bp. Pilkington "plucked down certain buildings of the Manor-house of Stockton, and took away a very fair and large *steeple-head* from the said Manor, and also had a lead cover over the kitchen there, and converted them to his own use."

Camden omits the place, though Saville had written to him that the Bishop "hath a fair house and his best provision there."

Speed limits the Durham castles to seven, supplying Leland's omissions and rejecting the two manor-houses of Stockton and Auckland.

"Our castles which were of anie accounte (Durham, Raby, and Stockton onely excepted) are throwne downe and utterlie laid waste, or at the best become unserviceable." (Observations, 1634.)

The building is repeatedly called Stockton Castle during the civil wars.

"An exact Survey of the Manor of Stockton—taken—1646.—The Bishopp's Castle, situate at the South end of the towne of Stockton by the river Tease, is ruinous, and in great decay.—The castle hath had a great moate about it, but the same is now for want of cleansing filled up in part, and within that moate hath heretofore been orchards and gardens, but all destroyed."

"This Castle standeth upon a brave river called Teeze, and hath been a very gallant Summer seate, very convenient, and all houses of offices, except brewhouse and milnehouse, within the castlewalls which are built of freestone. The bewtie of the house was within the squadron of

the castlewalls, and a dozen stables are within the walls, but (pittie) all in ruine, the leades being taken off the stable roofes, to its great decaye.—*The barn hath been lately built*, and is a very large one, built of stone, and the decay's very little. The materials of the castle are worth to bee sould, 500^l. at least; but wee shall give you a more particular account of it when the soldiers give workmen leave to view it." (Surtees, iii., 173.)

"13 Julii, 1647. Resolved, that this House [of Commons] doth concur with the Lords, that the works about Stockton Castle *made sithence these troubles* be slighted and dismantled; and the garison disgarisoned."

"1652. The Castle of Stockton was totally destroyed." (Mickleton.)

"Old Noll, in his day, out of pious concern, this castle demolished, sold all but the barn." (Sutton's Song, 176.)

"It was in fact only a strong post, or a fortified and moated manor-house, important solely as commanding the passage of the Tees. The town was neither walled nor defensible."—"The term of *castle* as applied to Middleham, Auckland, and Stockton, seems the courtesy of later times."—"A sort of embattled cowhouse, just on the north of the road to Tees Bridge, marks the exact site. The south-western angle of this said cowhouse has actually formed part of the castle-barn, or of some other office or outhouse." (Surtees, iii., 170, 171.)

This building was destroyed between 1860 and 1870.

THE STAINED GLASS OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

A LETTER in the *Durham County Advertiser*, in March, 1869, proposing that the three central windows at the east end of the choir of our Cathedral should be filled with stained glass, renders it proper that their history should be clearly understood. The writer assumed that the old glass had perished "by the fanatical violence of evil times."

"A subscription [he says] for the purpose of filling those eastern lights with stained glass was commenced many years ago (I think in the University), but the endeavour failed in consequence of a difference of opinion (if I remember rightly) as to the kind of glass to be preferred; some of the committee having been (strange to say) in favour of pattern glass, like that of the famous 'Five Sisters' of York Minster, while the rest thought that subjects with principal figures should be represented. I need not say that the subjects of the glass which formerly filled each of the tall windows at the east end of the choir are well known, from extant descriptions. In each window there was a principal figure, illustrative of the dedication and history of the Cathedral and the diocese."

The writer appears to forget that any imitation of old glass needs the reintroduction of the perpendicular tracery, in which the "principal figures" were, and perhaps he is hardly aware that the glass principally disappeared at a very late period.

As to the original appearance of the windows in that part of the church, we can only hazard conjectures. Probably the round one might bear some resemblance to that in the south transept of York Minster. As to the others, "it is not certain whether or not they originally had any tracery." If tracery they had, it would be of the character of that remaining in the great north window of the chapel of Nine Altars.

The alterations in the Nine Altars, during the period of perpendicular tracery, seem to have commenced in the centre. The name of "Richard Pikeringe, rector of Hemyngburgh," in the Durham Book of Life, is accompanied by the note that "he glazed the Round Window, to the value of £14." He held the rectory of Hemmingbrough from 1409 to 1413, when it was vacated by his death. Cardinal Langley was then bishop, and it may be remarked that John Hemmingbrough was prior. To him we probably owe the renewed tracery of the window, the perpendicular and elegant character of which we learn from Carter's "introduction of a part of the great circular window, supplied from the destroyed parts lying among the rubbish."

Of the nature of Pikeringe's glass we are perhaps in ignorance. In 1722, the window is represented in Smith's Bede as principally full of plain quarries. In the centre, within a circle, were the arms of the church of Durham, the cross being patonce. There were only six cusps at that time for this centre, if the plate be accurate in that respect; 12 compartments surrounded it, 24 were at the outside, divided by trefoiled spaces between their heads. In the 12 and 24 compartments were roundels in the centre of each. Some of these roundels contained quatrefoils; others were divided into six divisions, one contained a star of seven points, and another had some square object in it. Those in the inner circle were wholly of the first sort; the second sort were wholly in the lower lights of the outer circle. Carter says that "the paintings in the great circular window, called St. Catherine's Window, consisted of the representations of her martyrdom," but he appears to mistake the language of the author of the Rites of Durham. What that writer really says is this:—"There is in the east end of the church a goodly fair round window, called St. Katherine's Window, the breadth of the quire, all of stone, very finely and cunningly wrought and glazed; having in it 24 lights very artificially made, as it is called geometrical; and the picture of St. Katherine is set in glass *on the right side, underneath* the said window, in *another* glazed window, as she was set upon the wheel to be

tormented to death." We know from the descriptions of the glass that none of the three central windows is meant by this other glazed window; but the next window in the lower tier of lights, to the right or south, was over the altar of St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Katherine, and there, surely enough, "the story of St. Katherine" is found in the descriptions of the glass in it. This glass was still existing in 1787.

It is remarkable that there is no description of the glass in the Round Window, and seeing that the author of the Rites proceeds from it to describe the north and south windows of the Nine Altars' chapel, "in fine coloured glass," we are led to the suspicion that the expression of twenty-four lights, very artificially made, as it is called geometrical," refers to the glass rather than the stonework of the window. We must not overlook the fact that external effect at night might be an element in inducing plain glazing. For "in the said window was there a frame of iron, wherein did stand nine very fine cressetts of earthen mettall filled with tallow, which every night was lighted, when the day was gone, to give light to the Nine Altars and St. Cuthbert's Feretory in that part, and over all the church besides."

John Ogle's note hereon is as follows:—"June 30th, 1777. The following letter I had a few days since from Mr. Thomas Woodness, merchant, in Durham. He is a person much conversant in the ancient state of this church, but unhappily I have thought his verassity sometimes disputable. He says, first—As to the iron frame and cressetts, I suppose it must have projected a little from the upper gallery under St. Katherine's Window, and probably made with a contrivance to draw *two*, in order to leight the cotton. As to its being in the Abbey after the year 1541, I don't know what to say to that."

Most of the perpendicular tracery which filled the windows in the chapel of Nine Altars may with certainty be placed between 1416 and 1437. In the latter year Cardinal Langley died. Some of the glass in these windows referred to him. The following entry occurs in the enumeration of works done by Prior Wessyngton between 1416 and 1447:—"Firstly, the repair of eleven lower windows above the Nine Altars and in the south gable there, in stonework, ironwork, and glasswork, amounts to £120." There are, of course, nine of these windows above the altars. Those in the south gable are two double ones. The record then proceeds to the upper tier:—"Also, the repair of six upper windows at the Nine Altars in stonework, ironwork, and glasswork, amounts to £11 9s." The discrepancy of price leads to the inference, which is confirmed by absence of description, that the lights in the same tier as the rose window were, as it probably was itself, uncoloured. Their stonework was of the simplest description, "mullions of a

style similar to those below, but without tracery," by which Carter meant a transomed mullion in each window branching so as to leave a quadrangular space in the head, but without cusping. This looks very like the continued form, if not the repaired substance, of earlier work.

Some caution has been used in the foregoing language as to date, because it is just possible that the stone work of 2 out of the 13 windows of the Nine Altars and southern gable was introduced in the time of Bishop Skirlaw, who died in 1406, probably about the period when the rose window, which was glazed three or four years afterwards, was prepared. The language, "eleven windows," taking into account the double windows of the gable, is capable of two interpretations. The possibility to which I allude arises in the fact that the northernmost of the three central lights contained Bishop Skirlaw's insignia.

Each window was full of perpendicular tracery "of considerable elegance." In the summit, according to the old descriptions, were "four turret windows," with a quatrefoiled opening "above all." These composed the head of the tracery. The main part of each "fair long window with stone work partitions" had "a cross division toward the midst." The "first light" and the "second light" are "in a higher light." There are "the lower lights" corresponding. And "in the cross division are four little lights." All which arrangements will readily be understood from the restored tracery in the South Gable of the Nine Altars' chapel.

Dugdale, after the Restoration, attending only to armorial bearings, evidently saw much glass at Durham. The arms in the church, comprised of one material and another, amounted to 117 coats. King's view of the east end of the Cathedral is utterly worthless, but the plate in Smith's Bede is important. It shows that in 1722, the stained glass in Durham Cathedral was still tolerably perfect.

The state of the Round Window at this time has already been noticed. The plate shows two small windows under it, close to the openings in the wall. And, what is more to our point, it shows the three lights below full of coloured glass. Let us compare them with the descriptions.

I. *North Window*, above the Altar of SS. Martin and Edmund.

1. *First Light*. St. Martin, Archbishop. "Besides the picture of S. Martin are certain arms." The glass agrees.

2. *Second Light*. S. Edmund, Bishop. The glass agrees. There is some figure under his feet. The description, after mentioning the above arms, proceeds with the picture of a wicked spirit, who tempted S. Edmund, and then it comes to S. Edmund's figure. It evidently runs from the arms to the parallel subject and then upwards to S. Edmund.

3, 4. *Lower Lights*. The description omits the contents of these lights. Two saints, with something under them, appear in the plate. All the

main lights, both upper and lower, in all three windows had canopied tops.

Turrets and Transom. The description is "Above, in the turret windows are Bishop Skirlaw's picture, (*var.* arms), and an angel finely painted on each side. On the other side, under S. Edmund, were the arms of doctors and noblemen, perfectly drawn on the breasts of four angels, (*var.* in four turret windows). The variations are in the Hunter MSS., 44, and they are right. The turret windows have four angels under canopies, bearing shields, some evidently quartered, one possibly Skirlaw's crossed osiers. In the transom are four shields, quarterly. The arms under S. Martin are borne by an angel, and are possibly Skirlaw's. The composition of this window differs from the others, and aids the suspicion that it is earliest. Both it and the next show borders of coloured and plain panes alternately.

II. *Central Window*, above the altar of SS. Cuthbert and Bede.

1. S. Cuthbert. 2. Bede. Under each a bishop kneeling. The glass agrees, but Bede is 1 and Cuthbert 2. This may be an engraver's error, just as he makes the rampant lions look the wrong way in the centre of the round window.

3. Birth of S. Cuthbert. 4. S. Oswald blowing his horn and S. Cuthbert appearing to S. Oswald. These are probably also reversed in the plate, No. 3 containing a king.

"With the draught of Bishop Langley's arms in fine coloured glass and four turret windows containing our Blessed Lady, and the lily before her, and the Salutation." The plate gives Langley's arms and three other crossed shields in the transom, and in the turret windows are figures of some kind.

III. *South Window*, above the altar of SS. Oswald and Lawrence.

1. S. Oswald. 2. S. Lawrence. Under S. Oswald Bishop Langley kneeling. S. Lawrence has "the arms and escutcheons of Bishop Langley under him, viz., a crown of gold above his helmet, and within the crown the crest, being a bush of ostrich feathers, finely set forth in red and green painted glass." The representation agrees.

3. "S. Oswald's beheading, and being on his bier, accompanied by S. Cuthbert and others and the sunbeams shining on them, when they laid him on his bier." 4. S. Lawrence's death. In the plate there seems to be two nimbed figures, and half figures also nimbed beneath them.

"In the cross division are four little lights, bearing four stars or mullets, and four little turret windows with our Saviour Christ, our Blessed Lady, and others, in most curious work." The plate agrees. The mullet was Langley's badge. The figures above were half ones, two in each light.

Now all the agreements in this comparison are very satisfactory, and the more so because the slight disagreements and the obscurities of the artist's details (he, likely enough, being often unable to decipher the meaning of the glass) show that the plate is not a mere fanciful one derived from the inscription. We may admit that some of the designs had actually been transplanted from other windows. But one thing is certain. The eastern triplet was then full of ancient coloured glass, almost wholly *in situ*. That there was abundance of stained glass elsewhere in the church there is also ample evidence.

The latest MS. of the Rites, written apparently after the Restoration, is the only one which contains the valuable descriptions of the painted windows in the church. It must from the first have been intended as supplemental to the Rites, for it omits such windows as are described in the main work. These were St. Katherine's Window in the east end, St. Cuthbert's Window in the south end of the Nine Altars, Joseph's Window in the north end of the same chapel, the Window of the four Doctors in the north transept, the Te Deum Window in south transept, the Jesse Window in the western gable of the nave, and the four western windows of the Galilee. Much mischief had been done by the earlier Protestants when the author of the Rites wrote in 1593, but all this glass is spoken of as existing, and it is evident from the way in which the inscriptions and other details are given that it was so, in marked contrast to the subsequent account of the same writer how that the story of S. Cuthbert in the cloister windows was in the time of Edward VI. "pulled down and broken all to pieces." At what time the supplementary descriptions were compiled is not so clear. They are in the present tense, and they give the glass in the north and south aisles of the nave, some of which was wholly plain, others with coloured borders, and others partially stained. The uses to which naves had been put, and this especially during the civil wars, may account for the comparatively early destruction. Braithwaite's copy of the Rites, written in the 17th century, instead of containing the full account of the Galilee windows given by the author of 1593, gives a few notices of the pictures and their inscriptions, with this preamble: "There are in this place (the Galilee), and all the church about, divers fair windows richly wrought with pictures and imagery of Saints, which are now altogether broken, which I do forbear to mention, for want of room and time, only I have here inserted some things which were written so near as they could be read." The windows of both transepts, both aisles of the choir, and those of the Nine Altars are all described as filled with coloured glass.

These descriptions were published by Dr. Hunter in 1733. He was in error in ascribing the compilation to Prior Wessington, for "some of

the figures represented persons who flourished long after Wessington's death." This is of no consequence. The work is of high interest, for Hunter throughout incorporates with his copy of the MS. divers details and explanations apparently from personal inspection: and moreover gives a minute account of the glass in the windows of the vestry, which is not described in the MS. from which he printed.

Stukeley in 1725 confirms, so far as he goes, the foregoing evidences. "The Nine Altars [says he] from so many there placed, much painted glass of Saints &c. Two images amongst others left are those of S. Cuthbert and Venerable Bede."

Up to the early part of George the Second's reign, therefore, the tracery, by which the severity of the contrast between the handsome windows of the gables and the Norman work had been mitigated, still glowed like the lights of York Minster and many a parish church, with saints and armories, and biblical and legendary stories.

There is a dim interval of some forty or fifty years.

Some of Surtees's letters, in 1817, to C. K. Sharp, who seems to have been collecting old glass, allude to a catastrophe between 1775 and 1777. "Painted Glass.—I have got you the head of a monk, which I mentioned I think at Edinburgh, and, since that, the arms of Richardson, *three lions heads, very basely done*; but I mean to reside great part of November in Durham, and I fancy many reliques are scattered in Durham. I never thought of them before. *About 1775, the great east window in the Cathedral was blown in*, and the painted glass was picked up and scattered over the town, the light being restored with clear glass. There is one great box full of fragments preserved *in usum Dec. et cap.*; but much found its way out, and of such is my hope. Durham is an ancient place, full of oddments. Be so good as to direct me how to pack glass safe. I am very young and sore afraid."—1817, "I send you a box with a monk's head, which came from a window in the abbey, *blown in about forty years ago*, and a miserable glazing of the arms of Richardson, impaling Vavasour, cracked and soldered in the middle. There are four pieces of plain coloured glass in the same house from whence the arms came, but they have stuck them up in a passage light, and won't accept of clear glass instead. I believe other fragments are still to be had; and I have people on the look out."—1818, "your glass is packed up; but it would be an Irish present to send it by the mail."

"About 25 years" before 1801, [giving a date of *circa* 1776], great repair of the Cathedral was made, and every house in the neighbourhood bears testimony to the wreck of the smaller decorations suffered by the church in that repair." "There lives," saith Jack Ogle, "in Bow Lane one George Nicholson, who built the New Bridge, when, to create a job

to himself, made Doctor Sharp and the Dean and Prebends believe he could greatly add to the beauty of the church, by new chizelling it over on the owt side, and that he could add to the beauty of the ancient windows by means of his own genius. But all lovers of antiquity must regret that such men are suffered to polute with there hands the valuable and venerible work of so many ages. This Nicholson is now going on with what he calls Repairs in the year 1780; thought I had rather see the dust of antiquity then any thing which can come from him." Ogle's orthography and wording were bad, but let us revere the religious sentiment of this humble admirer of the "cunning works" of those who had been filled "with the spirit of God in wisdom and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship."

In the very extraordinary "Record &c., printed for private circulation among the members of the Chapter," which has acquired publicity by the death of one of its members and the sale of his effects, it appears that the "Repairs" of the church between 1772 and 1778, while the Prebends' Bridge was being erected "under the direction of Mr. G. Nicholson," cost about £1420. "About the time of the conclusion of this work, it is believed that the facing of the north side of the Cathedral and of the Western Towers commenced, as well as the erection of the battlements now standing on the latter, and of the pinnacles on the northern turrets of the Nine Altars. In 1779 and 1780, were considerable charges for 'repairs at the north end of the Nine Altars.'"

Hutchinson, in 1787, "thought it expedient to present the public with a representation of the church in the state it was before the repairs began." He gives an elevation of the north front, "from admeasurement by G. Nicholson, architect, 1780," and also another "from Mr. Nicholson's drawing and measurement," undated, of the exterior of the Nine Altars. While all the rest of the details in the latter differ materially from the present ones, the centre of the circular windows has twelve cusps, as at present. From Carter, in 1801, when his drawings, of 1795, were published, comes this language:—"The alterations which have been made within these fourteen or fifteen years past, on the east front and north side of the fabrie, have so totally changed the smaller parts of the work, that no certain representation can now be given of their original exterior forms. The centre division, with its three principal altars, three pointed windows in its first tier, and the magnificent circular window in its second tier, would have been a more proper object for representation then the lateral division now given; but the tracery of the central round window has been *very lately* (this is vague) entirely taken out, and replaced by a design not much resembling the work of any period of our ancient architecture, but totally

discordant from the style of the chapel in which it is inserted." "The plate, besides showing the lateral division, affords an introduction of part of the great circular window, supplied from the destroyed parts lying among the rubbish." "The division now given had not, when the drawing was made, been under the hands of the workmen."

From Hutchinson we learn that in the north aisle of the nave "all the old painted glass is destroyed. In the south aisle are six windows, in which are some broken remains of painted glass. The fine paintings in the west windows are all defaced." Of those in the south transept little remains. "The picture of St. Bede, an elegant figure in a blue habit, is yet perfect, and part of the crucifixion, as described in the notes." "St. Bede, in a blue habit," occurs in the descriptions as in a turret in the high part of the window, above the southernmost altar, and "the picture of Christ crucified" was in the central light of the window, southward of the same altar. He gives no account of any glass in the Te Deum Window. Of the windows in the Nine Altars he says this:—"It is to be observed that the fine paintings in these windows are almost totally defaced, or so mutilated and confused by bunglers who have repaired them, that the histories are not now to be made out, except the story of St. Catherine."

"1795-1797. Considerable *restorations*, both of the walls and windows, at the east end of the Nine Altars, were in the course of completion." When the Round Window fell among "the rubbish" is not quite clear. It had been destroyed previous to Carter's visit in 1795. In 1796 the tracery of the lower lights, which, in the north division at least, had not, in 1795, "been under the hands of the workmen," was removed from most of the windows, and in 1801 Carter writes that "probably none of it now remains." The more ornamental part of the mullions were partly placed upon the garden walls of Dr. Sharp, near the water gate, and partly in the gable of a stable, near the abbey mill."

The glass in the Nine Altars' chapel had been "mutilated" and "confused" in 1787. But still it existed. The story of St. Catherine could even be "made out." But after 1795-6, Raine's Guide of 1833 being the evidence, it "lay for along time in baskets upon the floor, and when the *greater* part of it had been purloined, the remainder was locked up in the Galilee." Of "the armorial bearings in the east windows of the Nine Altars, chiefly those of the royal family," supposed by Raine to have been "destroyed in 1796," some of them were probably "purloined." At least a very beautiful coat of Beaufort from Durham Cathedral still exists in loving hands.

Some of the glass had a harder fate. "The east end was wholly taken down, and rebuilt by Mr. Wyatt, but not being approved, was

again taken down, and the present wall put up.—The old verger said, the painted glass, in the East window, was found to darken the church, and was therefore *thrown away*, and the windows improved by having plain glass put in."

Leaving the *smaller* part, to which the glass of Nine Altars had been reduced, in the Galilee for the present, let us see what was left in the rest of the church in 1801, so far as Carter's plates enable us.

In the great west window were some foliated patterns in all the compartments formed by the tracery in the head. The Root of Jesse and Mary with Christ in her arms were gone. The north windows of nave and transept and choir were vacant, but in all the circles in the head of the Joseph Window at the north end of the Nine Altars were designs, ancient or modern, in circles. In the westernmost light of this fine window was a large figure, whether connected with the history of Joseph, which once filled it, it might be difficult to say. Turning to the south side of the church, four uniform windows on the south aisle of the nave had their tracery full of stained glass. The removal of this will be found chronicled in the sequel. The main lights of these windows were bordered, and apparently were surmounted by canopies. The heads of the main lights of the Te Deum Window and the tracery thereof had coloured glass. Moreover, two of its main lights were two-thirds full of it. There was one great figure, and other figures in couplets, and fleurs-de-lis and roundels or something of the sort. Lastly, so far as the plates extend, in the first and fourth windows of the south aisle of the choir, there were straggling remains of old glass. In the first window from the west, the remains were those of figures of considerable size.

In 1802, "the ancient vestry attached to the south side of the choir was taken down," "for no apparent reason." "The richly painted glass, which decorated its windows, was either destroyed by the workmen or afterwards purloined." Hunter's description of it has already been mentioned.

Coloured glass, representing S. Cuthbert holding S. Oswald's head, was sold at a sale in Durham not many years before 1828, and was sent to London.

In "the finest window" of the Vestry, that to the east, containing five long lights, the picture of S. Leonard finely set out in coloured glass filled the southernmost light. In the south window above the altar of S. Fides in the south transept, was also the picture of S. Leonard. One of these figures was probably the *scs LEENARDVS* in one of the prebendal houses formerly Dr. Zouch's, which Fowler carefully drew and engraved. The Saint is in a cope, and carries a crosier, but has no mitre. The

glass is of about the middle of the 14th cent., and is beautifully bordered with white crosses formee, charmingly inaccurate in their drawing, and separated from each other by a ruby ground.

The plate of the choir in Surtees's Durham, which was engraved in 1816, has traces of patterns in the Round Window, and a marked contrast to the quarried glazing of the three lights below. Raine, in his "Saint Cuthbert," published in 1828, says, of the glass from the Nine Altars, which we left in the Galilee: "The painted glass in the circular window was put up six years ago, from fragments preserved from the Nine Altars. The central star is new." His "Guide," 1833, reads: "About fifteen years ago, portions of it were placed in the great round window, and the rest still remains unappropriated."

"Prior Wessington's windows, in the south end of the Nine Altars, then in a state of great decay, were only removed in 1827, when they were carefully restored after his plan; but the armorial bearings, remaining in the spandrels of their tracery, were not replaced. Dugdale noticed here, in 1666.—1. The arms of Percy, impaling Warren;—2. Percy impaling Mortimer (the bearing of Hotspur and the Lady Elizabeth Mortimer, his wife, daughter of the Earl of March);—3. A coat, argent, a lion rampant, azure, impaling sable, a lion rampant, or, qu? Falconbridge;—4. Argent, a chief, dancette, azure;—5. Sable, a lion rampant, argent;—6. Quarterly, argent and sable, a bend of the latter;—7. Argent, a fess sable;—8. Old Percy;—9. Percy impaling Neville;—10. A saltire argent, impaling Percy;—11. Percy;—12. Party per pale, gules and sable, over all a crescent;—and 13. Sable, a saltire argent." The glass was probably dirty in Dugdale's time, and some of his tinctures it would have been useful to have been able to check with the originals.

In the copy of Guillim, 1679, which passed through the hands of several antiquaries, and finally in our time rests with Canon Raine, we have the following in Dr. Hunter's hand with 8 shields, described in italics below:—"St. Cuthbert's Window [*i.e.* the S. end of the Nine Altars], y^e east partition of four lights, in y^e tower windows at y^e top." 1. *A crescent*; 2. *Blank, impaling chequy O. and A. [sic.];* 3. *Blank*; 4. *Blank*; 5. *A chief dancette*; 6. *Blank*; 7. *A bend*; 8. *A fess S.*

This is the same order as Dugdale's, "in australi fenestra ejusdem partis dictæ ecclesiæ (orientem versus) appellatæ Novem Altaria."

Of Joseph's Window in the north end of the Nine Altars, Raine, in 1833, remarks: "Its painted glass, now almost entirely destroyed, contained the history of the Patriarch Joseph." This looks as if the large figure shown by Carter, was still there. The Te Deum Window seems to have been in a state of transition. "There is still much coloured

glass in *one* of its lower pannels, and in the interstices of the perpendicular tracery above, are figures of Bishop Aidan, with his name, a king, a queen, a prior, &c."

According to the "Record," "in 1839, the circular window in the Nine Altars, of which the tracery had been restored about 1796, was filled with stained glass, and several windows in the Galilee were newly glazed, zinc being substituted for lead." The inhabitants of Durham will be able to supply the shortcomings and obscurity of this summary. Billings, writing in 1843, speaks of the circular window only in connection with the Nine Altars' glass, which, after its removal in 1795, "lay in baskets about the floor for a considerable time. After much of it had been broken and more taken away, the remainder, with the addition of numerous pieces of modern red, green, blue, and yellow, was fitted into the window by a jumbling process known only to the artist (?) employed. In fact, it looks like the multitudinous variegation produced by a large kaleidoscope."

Between 1833 and 1841, the large figure disappeared from Joseph's Window, and the upper part, in which "some small fragments" of "its painted glass" are "still left," seems to have assumed its present appearance. The whole of the glass in the main lights of the Te Deum Window had also vanished. "All the ancient painted glass of the tracery remains." A MS. note of much the same period has "several saints in tracery, at top Christ in an aureole."

In 1842, the glass commemorating Thomas Hexham, a monk of 1436, had "been lately removed" from the south east window of the south transept, and Raine corrected the old description of it from the original. This was the window where Hutchinson's "crucifixion as described in the notes" was or had been.

In 1843, Billings gives two shields, one with a chevron, the other with a plain cross in the south window of the choir near the Altar-screen. This has been removed. He states that the ancient painted glass of the Jesse Window was "almost entirely gone." The fragments, we have a note, were "the crucifixion and several medallions," perhaps from various sources. Here it may be useful to note, on the authority of Ornsby, publishing in 1846, that the glass which now fills the upper lights of the western windows of the Galilee had "been recently inserted, and is made up of fragments which had been tossing about in some neglected corner." The same author, recording, in one page, that more than two-thirds of the cost of the magnificent Altar-screen was defrayed by John Neville, of Raby, whose shield appears in the spandrels of the doorways; in another, remarks that "a few shields, in the upper compartments of the windows, with their well-known bearing of a saltire

argent on its field gules, and the fragment of a border, ensigned with a repetition of the Bulmer **h**, still remain, to associate the memories of the proud Nevilles with the spot where they were gathered to their fathers."

And true it was that the turret windows of the south aisle of the nave, in which the donor of the Altar-screen and other Nevilles were sleeping, were still, as represented by Carter in 1801, full of heraldic glass. In 1847, the Altar-screen was "repaired and restored." In 1848, "the three north windows of the Choir of *Durham Cathedral*, which were *Decorated Insertions* in a debased style (refer to the plates of Carter and Billings) were replaced by *other decorated windows suggested by Mr. Salvin*, and for the most part *copied from windows to be found in the churches of Sleaford and Holbeach in Lincolnshire*, and Boushton Aluph in *Kent*. But on the north side of the Nave the Norman windows were *restored* in the place of the perpendicular insertions which had long been there." The windows are made suitable to the *modern* face of the wall. The *ancient* state may be gathered from the basement near the west end.

The "Record," under 1849, says:—The principal work of this year was the entire new fronting of the whole south side of the nave of the Cathedral. The easternmost window of the aisle of the nave was a decorated insertion, of which the point had been run up far above the string course. The window next to this was a very large, irregular insertion, with a round head and perpendicular tracery. The other windows retained the vestiges of their Norman origin, with the addition of tracery—the heads of the lowest being slightly pointed. The original windows were restored throughout."

Two of these windows had Neville four times repeated—one having the border already mentioned; four shields of other county gentlemen were in a third window, and the large window contained sacred monograms and various fragments. The whole of this glass disappeared from the aisle with the tracery in which it was contained. Some shields and fragments have recently been placed in the south aisle of the choir.

W. HYLTON DYER L.

* * POSTSCRIPT I.—Since the above pages were printed off, Mr. C. Hodgson Fowler has kindly read them in the Cathedral, and noted as follows:—

pp. 126-132. "I have little doubt but that the general outline of the present tracery of the Round Window is a correct copy from the old one. Carter shows 15th cent. tracery and *cusping*, but he also shows the same

sort of cusping to the Joseph Window, which is really soffit cusping. In a book of drawings by J. Wyatt, in the Cathedral Library, is an elevation of the east end, much as it is now, signed by Wyatt, and, immediately after it, another design of the same part, without date or name, and immediately preceding the drawings of the bridge, built by 'one George Nicholson.' I believe that the second elevation of the east front is his. It seems to retain more of what I fancy is old work than does Wyatt, and the Round Window is much as it is now."

pp. 127, 128. "As to the mullions of the upper windows, those in the South Gable have cusping like the lower ones, while Carter shows the tracery plain. Does not this look as if the simple tracery once had soffit cusping?¹ and that Wyatt's renovation of the South Transept was a reminiscence of them? I think it is very probable that all the lancets had mullions originally."

pp. 134, 136. "The 'foliated patterns' in the West Window were merely scraps of old glass worked up round some considerable fragments of large leaves and stalks, most likely part of Jesse's Tree, while the crucifixion in the head of the central light was made up of two figures. These fragments have been releaded with some new quarries and a border, and are now placed in the tracery of one of the windows in the north aisle of the choir."

pp. 134, 135. "Joseph's Window seems to have been reglazed in the 17th century, in geometrical patterns, and the tracery still retains nearly all its glazing of this date, pieces of old glass being worked in. In some cases they surround new painted glass of that period, representing shields of different forms." One of them, with the date 1662, bears the palatine arms of the see of Durham impaling a *goat's head quartering Ermine* for the late Bishop Morton. Another has the well-known arms of Lambton. A third has *A. two bars S.* But there does not seem to have been any true blazonry, nor anything more than shades of gold, brown, and white. Thus the field of the palatine coat is Sable, and the last-named coat is probably that of Baron Hilton, *A. two bars B.* "In the centre of one of the large cinquefoils are two beautiful fragments of figures of Benedictine monks. And in the top circle, and seemingly *in situ*, is a much mutilated effigy of Our Lady, seated, with the Infant Jesus on her knee, all of the 15th cent. work."

pp. 134-136. "When the fragments of the Te Deum Window were taken out, they were found to be much more imperfect than they seemed to be from below. Enough canopy work remained to give the idea for the new work, and two or three figures (or rather half-figures) were pretty perfect. The whole had apparently been worked up to suit the tracery when the window was repaired about 30 years ago. One of the figures represents a Benedictine monk, but without any name."

¹ Or had it a small circle in the top, like the clearstory windows of the presbiterium (see the north side in Billing's plates VI., LIV.), and did a separate sketch of one of them give to King the cue to make this the design of all the windows, both upper and lower, in the east end?—H. D.

p. 134. "S. Leonard still remains in the staircase window of Mrs. Maltby's house, surrounded by most lovely quarries figured with birds. Much glass of later date exists in the same window." [The glass of this window is more fully described in a second postscript.]

p. 135. "The outer lights of the Round Window bear the glazier's name and date 1839.² The inner lights were glazed in 1824. The few fragments that remained after it was glazed were swept, together with old lead and dirt, into three boxes, where they remained till I had them turned out and sorted three or four years ago, and glazed together and placed in the lights of a window in the south aisle of the choir."

p. 137. "The three shields and glass in the tracery were placed there at an earlier date. These shields are: 1. Percy, impaling Warren³; 2. Greystock, with a label O.⁴; 3. Greystock, with a mullet O."

"The rest of the glass is principally of perpendicular character, with many heads of monks, angels, and saints, parts of several crucifixes, two or three large stars, numbers of fragments of flowered quarries, and some very beautiful Decorated fragments of foliage."

POSTSCRIPT II.—On a review of the glass of many dates in Mrs. Maltby's house, it proves to be of high heraldic interest, but it is not mentioned, I think, by Dugdale, and the unpleasant suspicion arises that its northern *locus* is not the original one of many of its portions.

The suspicion arises from three private shields. The first is of heater form.

- I. *A. three ravens' heads erased S.* (RAVENSROFT de Lanc.; NORREYS, alias BANKE; Glover's Ordinary.)

Impaling a quarterly coat:

- 1, 4. *O. four bends B. within a Bordure G.* (MOUNTFORD; Glover's Ordinary. With *bendy of 6 O. and B.* instead of the bends, MERBROKE; same Ordinary.)
- 2, 3. *O. two bars G. over all a bend B.* (BRANASTON, WAKE de Kent; Glover's Ordinary. Cf. *A. two bars and a bend over all B.*, MOUNTFORD; in the same Ordinary. And *A. two bars G. a bend B.*, MOUNTFORD of Warwickshire: Burke's General Armory.)

I have no time for much investigation of this southern coat, but it is plainly that of an heiress of Mountford married by Ravenscroft.

² Thus it is plain that fragments have been twice, if not thrice, disposed in it.—H. D.

³ This was in the south end of the Nine Altars, vide p. 135.—H. D.

⁴ This was in the easternmost window of the south aisle of the nave, *teste meipso*. And I think the next shield was so.—H. D.

My Elizabethan Roll of Peers begins the quartered coat of "Dominus Norreis" thus

1. "NORREYS." *Quarterly A. and G. in the second and third quarters a fret O. over all a fess B.*
2. "RAVENSROFT." *A. a chevron between three ravens' heads S.*
3. "MERBROKE." *Bendy of six O. and B. a bordure G.* (N.B. "PIERS DE MONTFORD *Bende d' Or et d' Azure*": Roll of 1245-50).
4. "MONTFORD." *G. a lion rampant double queued A.* (N.B. "LE CONT DE LEISTER [Simon de MONTFORT] *Goules ung lion rampant d' Argent, le couve fourchee*": Roll of 1245-50).

SIR WALTER NORYS bore a *Black Raven's head erased* as a badge (Planche's Pursuivant, 186.) "NORRIS or NORREYS, as borne by JOHN NORREYS, second son of Sir William Norreys of Speke, who married the daughter and heir of RAVENSROFT of Cotton, and assumed the arms of that family, *A. a chevron between three ravens' heads erased S.*" "NORRIS alias BANKS alias BANK. *A. a chevron between three falcons' heads erased S.*" (Burke's Gen. Arm.)

- II. *Checky O. and B. fretty A.* (ROBERT DE CHENEI, according to Charles's Roll, circa 1295. Roll 1337-50 has it thus: *MONSIRE DE CHENY, Chequere d' Or et d' Asur, a une fes Gules frette d' Argent.*)

This coat is rounded off at the foot of the shield. The checky field is minutely and effectively divided, the checks being 12 by 6 above the fess. The fretty form is merely caused by a succession of X's, the terminations of which are in some places expanded on one side.

- III. *A. a chevron between three eagles displayed S.*

This shield is of the 16th century. It is not certain that blazonry is intended, and whether or not, the coat does not appear to be Northern, and its period does not justify inquiry as to its attribution.

Before proceeding to the regal heraldies of the window, I shall enumerate some miscellaneous items.

1. *A. a stag's head caboshed A. horns O. with a cross A. between them, transfixed through the mouth with an arrow fesswise A.* [Qu. if not a badge of NORREYS. See the demi stags and reindeers' heads caboshed, and arrows through the bucks and owls, under that name, in that rather under-rated but most useful book, old John Burke's General Armory.]
2. *A circular object A. armed with six spear heads O. with some adjunct to the dexter A. edged O. surrounded by a wreath of straw twisted in chief, and rising into 8 heads of rye or barley O.* [A very curious device, of Perpendicular date, of course.]

3. A bird with a garb or bound faggot on its head.
4. A device, allusive to S. CATHERINE, no doubt, consisting of a wheel, two palms, and a sword, all attributes of a martyr.
5. An herb, apparently the plantain.
6. A tradesman's mark. The usual triangular summit, with V above it, and M on the sinister side of the staff.
7. An angel playing on a violin, a most beautiful piece of glass.
8. Two crests of the 16th century.
 1. *A brown gryphon passant.*
 2. *A Black lion, with head regardant.*

I now give the regal shields and badges, which, when not otherwise stated, are in yellow and white.

- I. A crowned shield, *England* and *France* quarterly, impaling the usual quarterings of QUEEN MARGARET OF ANJOU.
- II. The *Plantagenista*.
- III. The *Daisy* of MARGARET OF ANJOU, a pretty example. "The Daise, a floure white and rede, in French called *la belle Margarete*." (Chaucer.)
- IV. The *Red Rose* of the HOUSE OF LANCASTER.
- V. The *White Rose* of the HOUSE OF YORK.
- VI. The Royal arms, in yellow and white.
- VII. A *Hawthorn bush with a crown above it*, for HENRY VII. The trunk in this specimen is not perfect, and it may have had H. R. at the sides, as in Willement's Regal Heraldry, p. 57.
- VIII. A *Hawthorn bush with a crown among the branches*, and H. E. at the sides of the trunk, for HENRY VII. and his QUEEN, ELIZABETH OF YORK.

In the midst of all this sumptuous assemblage and other fragments stands S. LEONARD.

If we could be sure that the Lancastrian glass was always at Durham, it would derive a curious interest in connection with the visit of Henry VI. to the city in 1448. His devotional exercises there, and his strange letter to Master John Somerset from Lincoln in that year, describing "the great heartily reverence and worship as ever we had, with all great humanity and meekness, with all celestial, blessed, and honourable speech and blessing" of the people of "the province of York and diocese of Durham,"⁴ "as good and better than we had ever in our life, even as they had been *celitus inspirati*," may be seen in Hutchinson's Durham, i. 338. One can understand how such language had the same ultimate effect as the less sincere and equally absurd language of the Tudors and Stuarts.

⁴ "All the world and part of Gateshead," as saith the proverb.

ALPHABETICAL BELL FROM PATTERDALE.

MR. JAMES FERGUSON, of Middleton-Teesdale, reports that in 1854 there was a bell at Greystoke, which had been brought from Patterdale. In 1860, it could not be found. The legend was in Lombardics of the 15th century, as follows:—

✠ (*mark of two V's interlaced like an old W*) A B C (*mark of one V*) D E F G q I K.

The D and Lombardic H were upside down as above.

THE CORBRIDGE LANX.

It will be in the recollection of many of you that a few years ago I presumed to write a memoir, on the suggestion of my friend Dr. Charlton, upon the somewhat enigmatical tablet—the Corbridge Lanx. I then started a novel point, and I believed I was the first to suggest it—that the female figure which had been represented by different commentators in different guises might be Latona, the mother of Apollo and Diana, the two prominent figures in the Lanx. The worship of Latona was conjoined with the worship of Apollo and Diana. One of the symbols in the border of the Lanx is a palm tree; and the palm tree was dedicated to Latona. It so happens that a report has been put into my hands in reference to this subject, from a gentleman named Mr. Pullan, who had been sent out by the Dilettanti Society in London (of which I am a member) to take the measurements, and to produce a report on the temple of Apollo Smintheus, in Asia Minor. There has been discovered an altar dedicated to Apollo, Artemis, and Latona—Artemis being Greek for Diana. I mention this circumstance as in some degree corroborative of the opinion which I ventured to set forth—that the figure which had never been satisfactorily named before was that of Latona.

RAVENSWORTH.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE MANOR-HOUSE
AND TOWER OR CASTLE OF HILTON.

THERE are, at Hilton, evidences of repeated alterations in the remaining fabric, and the internal walls were found to be placed upon foundations which, if not of an earlier period, were unusual in such buildings. But no details, prior to such as distinguish the Perpendicular style, have turned up.

In fact, there is not the slightest ruin of work which can safely be ascribed to a date previous to that of the builder of the Great Gate-house or Tower, Baron William of Hilton, who died in 1435.¹ Even in the chapel, a trace of a square-headed trefoiled doorway, in the interior of the south wall of the chancel, may not point to an earlier period than that of similar objects in the Tower. It is, however, almost certain that the chapel, which was built a little before 1500, would occupy the consecrated site of the earlier one which was in existence as early as the time of the first baron whose name we know, Romanus, Knight of Helton, in 1157, when it was called the chapel of that vill. The Gate-house was plainly intended to be viewed from the west, and there is no reason to suppose that its founder renewed the dwellings of his fathers, in addition to his costly annexation of the "house of stone," as the inquest after his death distinguished it. The presumptions are all in favour of the manorial buildings standing to the east of the Tower, and to the south and east of the chapel. The old stone wall which was traced as far up as the quarry above the chapel, and that which may or might be traced below the south terrace of the chapel, cannot be depended upon, as any cemetery would require walls. But a third wall, traced at some distance east of the Tower, and running north and south,

¹ The early history of the family is traced under the Church of Guyzance in Vol. III. of this series, p. 134. But I find that the scribe of *Placita de Quo Warranto* is wrong in supposing that the charter of 1256-7 was produced *eidem Roberto* in 1293. In 1289, Robert de Hiltone held the Tison estates. On 6 Jan., 1290-1, *Alexander de Hiltonne*, Dominus de Renyngton, executed a charter touching the possessions of Alnwick Abbey in that manor. In 1293, another Robert presents the charter of 1256-7, and in 1303-4, Elizabeth, wife of Alexander, was living, with dower. The charter which thus proves that Alexander's tenure of the estates was between 1289 and 1293, was noticed in Mr. Tate's investigations for his *History of Alnwick*.

The title "Baron of Hylton" is discussed in Nichols's *Herald and Genealogist*, iv, 343.

might really be connected with the square of the Manor-house. The superstructure of the erections, whether older or younger than the Tower, would most likely be of timber and plaster, post-and-pan, as were the great Percy house of Topcliffe, albeit called a castle, and many considerable piles of lodgings. Yet it is possible that the noble west front, like John Lord Lumley's armorial array at Lumley, was to be viewed from a courtyard, here to the west. The east front, with its coat and crest and badge of the Hiltons is good enough as an external one, specially as only overlooking a chapel-garth. Sculls have been found at a distance of 20 feet from it, at a proper depth. And a large regular paved square, as if of a courtyard, not shown in any engraving, has recently been discovered on the west side of the Gate-house.

Between 1435, or even 1448-50, when the same description occurs, and 1559, there is ample time for a complete renovation of the dwelling, and it would be idle to attempt identification of the chambers of both periods. However, it may be mentioned that in 1435, after a statement of the tenure of the Manor of Hilton, the inquest runs thus:—"And there are in the same Manor a hall, four chambers, a chapel, two barns, a kitchen, a house constructed of stone, called Gate-house, which are nothing worth yearly beyond outgoings by reason of the cost of their repairs."

These may be compared with the enumerations at a later period thus:—

1435.	1559.	1600.	1600.
	The order indicated by figures.	The order indicated by figures.	Additional items at end of inventory.
Four Chambers.	1 Great Chamber.	1 Red Chamber.	11 Portal in Great
	2 Green Chamber.	2 Green Chamber.	Chamber and
	3 Middle Chamber.	5 Lady Chamber.	hangings in
	4 New Chamber.	6 Nursery.	Great Cham-
	5 Gallery.	4 Low Gallerie.	ber.
	6 Wardrobe.		17 Wardrobe.
	7 Cellar within the Parlour.		
	8 Parlour.	3 Parlour.	
	9 Chamber over the Hall door.	8 High Cheequer.	
	10 Low Cheequer.	7 Low Cheequer.	16 Cheequer Chamber.
Kitchen.	11 Kitchen.	9 Kitchen.	15 Kitchen.
	12 Larder.		13 Larder house.
	13 Brewing vessels.		14 Brew house.
Gatehouse built of stone.	14 Tower.	10 Tower.	
Hall.	15 Hall.		18 Hall.
	16 Buttery.		12 Buttery.
Two Barns.	17 Garner.		
	18 Barne.		
Chapel.			

The Gate-house or Tower of Hilton, which now alone is known as Hylton Castle, first appears in the Inquest after the death of the great baron William, in 1435, as "a house of stone constructed of stone, called *zethous*." In 1461 it occurs as the Tower of Hilton, and the chaplain of William Bulmer during the minority of the young lord of Hilton had its custody. In the inventories of the effects of Sir Thomas Hilton in 1559, and of Sir William in 1600, it is, as we have seen, also called the Tower. Previously to the last date, its nobility was probably the reason of the whole manor-house receiving the name of castle. In 1583 we have a settlement of the castle and manor of Hilton, and the first edition of Camden's *Britannia*, in 1587, speaks of "*Hilton Hiltoniorum Castrum*."² It was the fashion of the day, and Hilton was in no worse position than Ravenshelm with its four early towers in its previous exclusion from the castelle rank. In 1600, a sort of official sanction to the style was given, for although the word castle does not seem to occur in Sir William's inventory, yet, five days previously, administration had been granted to his widow "in the Great Chamber within the Castle of Hilton." This Great Chamber occurs in 1559 far away from the Tower, and to the commencement of the 18th century it must have been clearly understood that the present edifice was only within the manor-house or castle, and did not constitute its entirety. Gibson, in his edition of Camden, 2nd. edit. 1722, adds to Camden's "Hilton, a castle of the Hiltons", the following passage: "an ancient family, wherein is preserved to this day the title of the Bishop's Barons. The Gate-house, which is all that remains of the old castle, shews how large it hath been; with the Chapel, a fine structure, wherein there were chaplains in constant attendance, it being the burying-place of the family." So also a plate nearly identical with Buck's view of 1728, and dedicated to Mr. John Hilton, of Coventry, says: "It was formerly a very large and strong building, but at present there is little remaining except the Great Gatehouse and an old Chapel."

An ill-lighted and circumscribed hall appeared to be indicated in the Tower by carved corbels, but it seems to have only occupied the position which the halls in older keeps held in relation to the baronial halls in

² There may be two earlier instances, but it is open to doubt whether the word "castle" in them refers to Hilton. In an inquest about the tithes of Hilton in 1428, nine acres called Russel-land are said to be between Stiklaw and *Castelway*. In proceedings of 1467 as to whether Mary, the heiress of Vipont and of Stapleton, had, after the death of her husband Baron William Hilton, married William Haggerston or Richard Musgrave, she is stated to have proceeded from some castle to Newcastle to be married to Haggerston, but an unlucky imperfection in the MS. follows the word "Castle." And in another part of the record she is said to have been besieged by Sir ... Maners and other accomplices of Musgrave "in her *manerium* of Hilton" at night, and to have escaped to the cell of Wearmouth "*per porticulum ejusdem manerii*."

the outer works of castles. At all events, in 1559, the Tower merely contained a "great caldron, a pan, an iron spit, and eight complete harness (suits of armour) from the knee up." In 1600, it covered "four corslets with their furniture without weapons," and "certain hay," valued at 26s. 8d., an item which seems to exclude all possibility of the projection externally and internally in the eastern front of the building at the summit being considered as the Tower in itself.

The Tower would therefore be only used in case of danger. It is a peel-tower or gateway elongated and made gigantic to serve in lieu of a regular castle. Independently of the armorial evidences on its walls, its whole detail points to Baron William, (in the inquest upon whose death it first appears,) as its founder. There is some resemblance to Lumley Castle in the machicolation, but while the detail at Lumley is more chaste and delicate, that at Hilton Tower is more exuberant, and its peculiarity of form has given to it a mass and a skyline which on the whole are more impressive. There is, moreover, a weird grandeur about the Hilton sculptures which is wanting in those at Lumley. Lumley Castle was built in the days of Richard II., and we cannot place the work at Hilton, which is decidedly later, in an earlier reign than that of Henry IV. There are reasons, indeed, for locating it in the years of Henry V. or early in those of Henry VI. The fleurs de lis of France in the royal banner are reduced to three, agreeing with the change in the great seal of Henry V., and there is no licence of crenelation for the work on the episcopal rolls. For any other period after the palatine usurpations fairly set in, it might be supposed either that there was a previous tower, or that a gatehouse was not within the scope of licences. But, looking at other instances, these explanations would be by no means satisfactory. The true reason probably is that the Tower was built in defiance of the Bishops. In 1432, three years before the founder's death, his son, Robert Hilton, chivaler, occurs at the head of the jury which at Hartlepool found Bishop Langley and his predecessors guilty of divers offences against the crown and the subjects of the realm, putting the alleged palatine jurisdiction, in fact, upon its trial. One of the articles was that the Bishop, during the reigns of Henry IV., V., and VI., had usurped the granting of licences for building, embattling, and machicolating castles, walls, and other houses and defensible erections. The presentment was quashed in Parliament in 1433, by reason of Hartlepool appearing to be in the Bishop's liberty and of the inquisition being taken there without authority, and of the age and merits of Langley, Parliament being unwilling to put him to the fatigue and costs of traversing the presentment.

While the manorhouse generally was going to decay, the family in

the seventeenth century being, through Baron Henry's charitable gifts, disabled from any great outlay, the Tower seems to have remained in much its original condition, until about 1705. In that year John Hilton, who had married a Musgrave, placed the impaled arms above the door of a house which is now the Golden Lion at Ford, and we may fairly assume that at about the same time he made the alterations and doorway bearing the same coat, which appear in Buck's plate of Hilton Castle in 1728. With reference to the stiff but valuable plates by the Bucks, it may be remarked that drawings of Hilton, Lumley, Raby, and other castles by one of the brothers Buck occur, dated June, 1728, in which material variations from the plates occur. Judging by a comparison of the drawing and plate of Lumley Castle, the drawings are to be preferred, but, singularly enough, certain details, such as the bearings on the Hylton shields, are better in the plates than the drawings. The inference seems to be that the drawings of one of the Bucks were afterwards amended with details separately, and finally much damaged in the transfer to copper.

By Buck's plate of Hylton we see that the old gateway was partially built up, a north wing added or remodelled, a new doorway with the arms of Hilton and Musgrave driven through the wall at the junction of the old building and the new, and numerous Italian windows pierced through the walls. A square Elizabethan or Jacobæan window had displaced something or other near the Royal banner at an earlier date. John Hilton's architect, by design or accident, gave a little irregularity to the form and position of his windows, preserving the general effect from disagreeable uniformity of shape and level, and, by squeezing the windows on the right close to the buttress, he fortunately left the traces of one of the ancient lights (see Billings's plate) to guide any future restorer. He also left the charming elevation of the centre of the western front untouched.

It is observable that Buck makes the north wing join the Tower without the intervening buttress, which now balances that at the other end of the Tower. On investigation it seems that for a considerable portion of its height from the ground this buttress is modern, built against ancient quoining. The turret above, therefore, was corbelled out of the angle, an arrangement which may give colour to the idea that the Hall or some other edifice ran off where the north wing afterwards stood, and that the angular buttress at the other end marks the corner of the manorial square of buildings. No signs of ancient windows seem to have appeared at the north end, which, indeed, on the recent destruction of the north wing had to be considerably rebuilt, while they are not wanting at the south end, one of the ancient windows therein

being of singular grace. Other circumstances might however account for this.

Buck, the engraver, also makes the north western turret circular. It is now in existence³ and shows that, intentionally or not, he has brought one of the eastern turrets, from a drawing of details, into the wrong place.

The last Baron Hilton was much more mischievous. He blocked the elegant window in the centre of the western front, and destroying or hiding the great doorway, he made a new west entrance, quasi-Gothic, in its place, adding a tall porch surmounted by a gallery between the buttresses, thus ruining the design which carried the eye from the massive and suitable gateway arch up the banner staff of the Hiltons which seemed to spring from it, thence to the handsome surmounting canopy, thence, by the pretty central window which rested on the canopy, up another banner staff, that of France and England, to another canopy and the grand machicolated arch full of ornament, which spanned from buttress to buttress. Above this again were two gigantic figures on the battlements, engaged in the defeat of winged and fiery dragons or "worms," possibly in allusion to the local legend attached to the Worm Hill on the Hilton estate of North Biddick. It must be confessed that for modern use some shelter for a visitor was requisite, but there were three modes open. One was to bring the great archway forward. This would have preserved the baronial aspect. Another was to have had a comely wooden porch, close or open, like those of some of the south-country churches, and sufficiently low to have shown the very bottom of the Hilton banner staff and its springing. To show both arch and banner with an outer porch was impracticable. The third and best plan was to have had an internal porch, merely converting the square doorway, in the blocking which old John had left, into a shape more consonant with the outer arch, which it must be admitted, was too large an entrance. This low outer arch remains. After all, notwithstanding the beauty of the west design, as it appears in the plate of Buck, illustrated by the engravings in the works of Surtees and Billings, I am by no means certain that the banner of the Hiltons was always *under* the old west window. It might, very well, be near the Royal banner, and be removed when the square mullioned window was broken through the wall at that place. The old west window, by the way, according to Buck's *drawing* (which I have), had a transom.

John the last Baron, moreover, removed his father's front door, covered its passage and the window above with a buttress, raised and castellated

³ It is presumed to be ancient, but the figure on the side next to the leads is modern ?

the north wing, added a south wing, with Italian windows,⁴ added bowed rooms with screens between them in pseudo-Gothic to the east front, made a fine banquetting or ball room with stucco ornaments possibly in imitation of the better ones at Lumley, and covered all the vaulted passage on the ground floor with arabesque adornments in the same substance, not much to the detriment of the older work and much adding to its appearance of comfort.

"All the defacement it has undergone," says Billings, "cannot destroy the simple grandeur of its composition." "It is a remarkable specimen of castellated architecture, both in size and decorations." "When we have reached the lead covered roof a scene presents itself of which few castles can now boast. There are the turrets, with their staircases, and the bold broad machicolations; even the guard's room (surmounting the projection of its eastern front) remains perfectly entire, and nothing but a few armed men is wanted to complete the picture of by-gone baronial power."

It is not easy to describe either the architecture or the arrangements without the aid of engravings. The angular turrets on one side, the corbelled circular ones on the other, and the great square projection from the east front, with the picturesque battlements, form a fine assemblage. There are the usual domestic conveniences inside. The idea on the summit, where the turrets are machicolated and ornamented to the leads as much as to the exterior, and are much isolated, seems to have been to enable a defence from every turret independently.⁵

It remains to give some account of the heraldry on the two fronts.

West Front. Centre.

The banner of France modern and England.

First row of shields below, four coats.

1. A Saltire. Neville. [Alexander Hilton served in the Scotch wars, 7 Edw. III., with Ralph Lord Neville.]
2. A plain cross. This cross is moulded exactly like the saltire: the mouldings do not interlace, but Surtees mistook the coat for that of Bishop Skirlaw. It may either be the arms of Vesey of Alnwick, under whom the Hiltons had held their estates in Northumberland derived from Tyson, or the coat ascribed to S. George, the founder's cotemporary being Ralph

⁴ Tradition says that the architect, one Frankini, an Italian, induced the Baron to do this because his castle looked like a sow with one lug. The north wing, on its recent removal, was in great decay. Indeed I remember that it was in that condition twenty years ago.

⁵ While the alterations by the present owner were in progress I ventured to remark that if the Italian windows gave way to the originals restored and a few quiet imitations of the existing originals at Hilton and Lumley were introduced; the old place might be none the less the finest thing in the county of its sort.

Neville, the Great Earl of Westmerland, K.G., and the same company of crosses being found at Raby and Gainford. Or it may have reference to the see of Durham, a subject which I am treating elsewhere.

3. A Lion rampant, quartering three Lucies or Pikes, Percy and Lucy. This coat was worn by the Percies, successors to the Vescies, from 1384, and the plain cross is found in company with it in the Eastern chapel of Tynemouth.

The three important shields above are larger than the rest, which, irregular in size, are alike as style and time.

4. A Lion rampant, differenced by a label of three points. "Perhaps the heir of Percy."

Second row, five shields.

1. A Lion rampant. Qu. Brus, connected with Hilton of Swine through Thwenge.
2. Two bars (Hilton), quartering three chaplets (Lascelles). Hilton of Swine (the difference of that house, a fleurs de lis, being omitted) representing Lascelles. The founder of the building married his kinswoman Dionysia Hilton of Swine. The line of descent is not drawn from her in the received pedigrees, but the inquest after her death and an early settlement by her husband are contrary to them.
3. A fess between three popinjays. Lumley modern, alias Thwenge. The arms of this Baron Hilton are also on Lumley Castle, and there was a connection with Thwenge through his wife's family.
4. A Lion rampant, within an engrailed border. Grey of Northumberland, also on Lumley Castle. [The founder of this fabric William de Hilton, knt. and Tho. Grey held an acre at North Bedick in 1380, called Stanhers.]
5. Quarterly, a bend charged with three escallops now very obscure. Eure of Witton.⁶

Third Row. Four shields.

1. A chief dancette, Fitz-Randolph of Spennithorne connected with Hilton of Swine through Lascelles, or Campaigne the Baroness's mother.
2. Two bars and three mullets in chief. Washington, or perhaps Yeland, families connected with the Hilton estates at Bid-dick and Usworth.
3. A fess between three crescents. Boynton? See the Felton pedigree, and that of the Daldens.
4. Three water-bougets. Ros? or Lilburne?

Left hand Butress. Three shields.

1. A Lion rampant debriused by a bendlet. Eshe through Yeland? or Tilliol or Sutton, see pedigree of Hilton of Swine.

⁶ The following evidence appears to be too late to explain this shield.—1483, June 4, Radulphus Eure, armiger—Mariæ Helton sorori meæ 20 marcas.

2. Two Lions passant within a tressure. Felton. The founder's mother was a Felton, and he was coheir of the whole blood of her family.
3. Heron. Three herons [looking to the sinister?] Some Herons were connected with Usworth, and Robert de Dalden married a coheir of Heron of Chilton.

Right Hand Buttress. Three shields.

1. Ermine, in the dexter point an orle. Surtees.
2. Effaced. Probably Dalden.
3. Ermine, three bows. Bowes of Dalden, holding Clowcroft manor under the Hiltons.

Under the window, a banner of the Arms of Hilton, the bars being raised and overlapping the flag-staff. Buck in his plate gives two small lions holding it, in the drawing they are more like griffins.⁷

On the east front is a noble sculpture of the Roebuck of the Hiltons, collared with a coronet and chained. Below are the arms under a helmet covered with a mantle quarried with slipped trefoils, and crested, on a wreath, with Moses' Head in profile, horned with triple rays. The engraving of this in Surtees's Durham is exceedingly inaccurate.

On the corbels inside of the west front are the arms of the Baron and those of his son (differenced by a label), borne by angels, with some other designs which there is no need to particularize. Those who are curious in such matters are referred to the subject of Jack of Hilton in another county.

A Chapel of the vill of Helton existed in or before 1157, and the licence to the lords for the burial of themselves, their wives, their freemen, and the freemen of their freemen, in that chapel or its cemetery, is printed in Surtees's History of Durham, ii. 380. It is plain that, like the abbey church of Tynemouth, the collegiate church of Darlington, and many another ecclesiastical edifice, this chapel had a double debt to pay, partly for the souls of the Lords, with chantry accommodation, partly for those of their tenants without it, leaving the eventual adjustment to sentences in the region of Dives and Lazarus. The dedication was to S. Catherine, but, before 1322, a chantry within the chapel dedicated to the Virgin, had arisen. In 1370 there were three chaplains or sub-chaplains or chantry priests on the establishment.

Sir Thomas Hylton by will dated 1558 says: "I bequeath my body to be buried in the midst of my Chapel of Hilton, whereas my grandfather lieth buried." This grandfather was Sir William who died in 1505.

⁷ No such ornaments appeared when the removal of the battlement of the porch disclosed the bottom of the staff. But it does not follow that they were absent before the last baron's time.

The Chapel does not present any features much older than that period. In Buck's time it appears to have had a considerable nave with two stories of small square side windows, and with strings resembling but not corresponding with those of the transepts, which end semi-hexagonally, and are well lighted in both stories with plainly-headed triplets. The chancel is not divided into stories. On its south side it has square lights divided in two by a mullion, and on its north side similar ones have supplanted larger windows which came nearly to the ground. The strings of the transepts are not continued in the chancel. The east window has five lights, and Buck's view shows a west window of six lights. Through it we see [only in the engraving, not in the drawing] an empty window (it seems too small for an arch and it has a sill) apparently in a gable [distinct both in drawing and engraving] which separates the nave from the chancel and transepts. On the south side of the nave he shows a round turret in which is one of the slits usually employed in lighting newel staircases. There was a large western doorway. The impression left upon the mind is that the nave was used separately from the chancel. I offer no opinion as to what part of the edifice was the chantry of S. Mary.⁸ The arrangements of the transepts, which look later than the body of the building,⁹ their two stories, the newel turret, and marks of eastern doorways in the upper stories of both transepts (approached, I presume, by wooden steps) suggest that we have a modification of the common arrangement of the oriole or overstory, looking into the chancel which was the height of both stories. The oriole was for the lord's and his family's use, or often for the ladies only. There is now only a very small nave, unlighted and unadorned by strings on the sides, ending in a wall containing the foot of an old window of three lights, apparently formed of the two sides of the old one of six lights, some of the centre being omitted. Across this window is thrown externally a circular arch composed perhaps of old mouldings and possibly part of the old division between nave and chancel. Beneath the window is an Italian doorway of the last Baron's style.

At each side of the window sill are the only two coats which are given by Buck, viz.

1. Hilton, Vipont, and Stapleton quarterly on a pendant shield, with mantling and the crest of Moses' head affrontee (engraved badly in Surtees.)
2. The same quarterings on a shield in the usual direction, as are all the other shields on the chapel. Supporters, two lions.

⁸ There are no traces of chantry arrangements in the transepts, or elsewhere.

⁹ There is no foiling in them or in the side windows of the chancel, unlike the east and west windows. The north and south walls of the chancel have manifestly been disturbed, but no pre-perpendicular details exist.

Above the arch are three other coats which must have been on the divisional wall between nave and chancel, viz.

1. Same coat and supporters as the last.
2. (Apex) Same coat, with crest and mantling, no supporters.
3. Same coat. Supporters, two roebucks.

On the north transept is the same coat with crest and mantling, without supporters. On the south transept the same arms are accompanied by the roebucks, of different drawing to those on the west front, and in the cornice above is the nebulee badge of the Hiltons which appeared in their standard and above their crest in drawings of the Tudor period.

The chapel was in ruins in Buck's time, and, after two vain restorations, is now in ruins again. As soon as their nonsenses went out of fashion, so much as was left of original truthful work on which they operated, reasserted sole claims to consideration, and "then they fell, so perish all"—restorations.

W. HYLTON DYER L.

LEGENDS CONNECTED WITH HYLTON CASTLE.

HAVING, in other papers,¹⁰ attempted to trace the true beginnings of the Hyltons, their castle, and their title of Baron, and having found that, after all, their myths have as much interest, or more, than the truth, I propose to say something on the beginnings of the legends also, and to collect some details respecting them.

It is somewhat remarkable that no story has been invented to account for the extraordinary crest of the house, Moses' Head. The first legendary evidence seems to be composed of the two gigantic groups of warriors and fiery dragons on the battlements of the west front of Hylton, erected in the fifteenth century. These doubtless have some reference to the tradition attaching to the Worm Hill in the estate of North Biddiek, which had been acquired by the Hyltons. The story is now known as that of the Lambton Worm.

The estate of Hylton was of ancient feoffment, and therefore created before the death of Henry I., and the ascent in blood of its barons reaches to Romanus de Helton, who was living in the time of Henry II. The fictitious pedigrees which ignore this ancient gentleman were at least in progress before 1625. In 1526 and 1558, some strange

¹⁰ See p. 143, and the references in the note there.

entails had been made by two barons of Hylton, whereby, after exhausting their most immediate relatives, they call in the Hyltons of Usworth, Wellome in Yorkshire, London, Parke in Lancashire, and Hilton and Burton in Westmerland, whose relationship to the baronial stock is rather problematical. Whether the barons were influenced by tradition, or a false pedigree, or by mere coincidence of name, thus to pass over heaps of nearer relatives through females, certain it is that in a collection of pedigrees by Robert Hegge, dated 1625, the germ of the later genealogies is found. The stem given there mentions a younger son, a Richard Hilton, as marrying the daughter and heir of John Parke, Esq., and it multiplies generations and supplies mythic wives, throwing back the marriage of the heiress of Tyson with William de Helton from the twelfth century to the eleventh, making her husband, with whom the pedigree begins, exist at the time of the Conquest.

The next edition before me, copied by Randal into a book of pedigrees in my possession, bears internal evidence of being of the date 1642, and carries up some ill-contrived descents from the Conquest to the reign of Athelstan or earlier. It contains an absurd statement that in the reign of that king, one Adam Hilton gave a crucifix engraved with his arms to the monastery of Hartlepool. Richard who is said to have married the heiress of Parke, is stated to have "had issue, and was called Hilton of Parke, in Lancashire."

In the reign of Charles II. we have other copies, which make the husband of Bona Tyson have a brother Robert, who marries the daughter and heir of Richard Bacon of Westmerland, and "so it took the name of Hilton Bacon." Just before the making of the pedigree the Baron's daughter had married Robert Hilton of Hilton Beacon, near Appleby.

It is quite true that one Robert de Hilton heads the pedigree of the Westmerland Hiltons, at a date correspondent to what he ought to have if he were a brother of the Durham Hilton who married Tyson. But the marriage with Bacon was later. The pedigree of the Hultons or Hiltons of Park, in Lancashire, runs in an independent stream still higher, and gives no loophole for the supposed heiress.

Lancelot was a favourite name of the members of one branch of the Hilton Beacon family, which came to what had probably at the outset been the true cradle of their race, Hilton near Staindrop. But I cannot trace to them the next addition to the marvellous history, which appears in the edition of Guillim's Heraldry, 1724, although the name "Lancelot" occurs in it. It states that the Hilton of Athelstan's time was called *Robert*, that Malmsbury mentions William de Hilton-Castle, as being called "with the other great lords" to "Pizzeazemoz, *i.e.* their Wit-tenagemott." Then comes the following fable. "In the reign of

King William the Conqueror, Henry de Hilton was one of the four lords that treated with him for the Northern Counties. This Henry, (as the family report) received of his gift, *a stag lodged and chained* for a cognizance or crest, which his valiant son *Lancelot* declined for that of his family; but, however, caused it to be placed on the backside of his castle, as a memorandum to posterity.—This family unfortunately lost their peerage in the reign of King Edward I., nor had William de Hilton and his son, who lived about the time of Edward II. and Edward III., whose dispositions were too turbulent, any summons to Parliament. But yet the Bishops of Durham, while they had power to nominate barons, gave them that title; and neighbours, in courtesy, still call them so.”

The story, being without marks of quotation, ought to be “peculiar to this edition” of Guillim, but it was evidently written before 1722, when Baron Richard died. He is described as living, and, amusingly enough, as “great-grandson” of the melancholy Baron Henry who in his will had called God and man to witness that he had no child living. Some Hiltons of Rea-Hall are prominently noticed as of the same family, and an erroneous descent is given.

In a similar account preserved by Randal and Allan, as “of one of the family’s writing,” which also mentions the Rea-Hall folks, the Hiltons are said to have lost the greatest part of their estate with their peerage, in the reign of Henry VI. by means of De la Pole, the royal favourite.

This idea, probably for the delectation of the Hiltons of Feversham, in Kent, was worked up in the final edition of the romance, as it appears in a letter addressed from somebody at Chelsea, who professed to have papers relating to the family, to the last Baron, in 1740. The substance of this popular account may be sufficiently seen in the History of Durham by Hutchinson, who pithily remarks that “some principal errors will appear in the comparison of the records.” “A certain inscription at Hartlepool” is quoted for the existence of the family in Athelstan’s time. “Upon the coming over of William the Conqueror, Lancelot de Hylton, with his two sons Henry and Robert, espoused his cause and joined him, but that Lancelot soon after was slain at Feversham, in Kent.” Then his son Henry obtains from the King a tract of land on the Wear, builds Hylton Castle in 1072, treats with him concerning the four northern counties. John Hylton is made Baron by Edward III. William the seventh Baron talks against Queen Margaret and Delapole, forfeits his estate, and is thought to have died a violent death. The Crown grants the estate to the informing Bishop of Durham, who after some time gives part of it to another Lancelot, the grandson of Lord William, “under this hard condition, that he and his heirs for ever should hold the moiety that was given them

under certain rents and services to the see of Durham, and have the title of barons, but barons to the Bishoprick only, annexed to their inheritance. Then comes an account of 24 Hyltons dying in divers battles, which probably gave the cue for the strange statement, that Lord Craven's armour of blue burnished Milan steel at the Eglington Tournament was that which had been worn by Baron Hylton at the Battle of Cressy.

The letter only professes to be an abstract. The name of the writer does not appear in my copies, and probably it is only by one of the pseudo-heralds of the day who expected that the Baron would pay for more of such stuff.

The claims of various pretenders to the heirship and estates of the Hyltons are mythical enough, but we need not trouble ourselves with them in connection with the baronial stock. The owners, very sensibly, seem to have treated them as owners of the present day treat claimants supported by Newcastle newspapers.

We have now to consider traditionary legends, such as are found in conjunction with many families whose rise is lost in the clouds of antiquity.

On these subjects we have scarcely any early observations. To Hutchinson they plainly were distasteful. He is obliged indeed to notice the Worm Hill, and its name compels him to notice the legend attached to it. And in this fashion he despatches it. "Near [Fatfield Staiths] is an eminence called the Worm Hill, which tradition says was once possessed by an enormous serpent, that wound its horrid body round the base; that it destroyed much provision, and used to infest the Lambton estate, till some hero of that family engaged it, cased in armour set with razors, and when it would have crushed the combatant by enfolding him, sustaining a thousand wounds, fell at last by his falchion. We thought to have found entrenchments round this mount, and that the fable had reference to some Danish troop who kept the place as a station, from whence they could commit depredations on the country, and that the story of the hero imported some chief personage's victory over a public enemy. But there is not the least trace of any such matter, and the whole miraculous tale has no other evidence than the memories of old women. Our map makers have figured the place very significantly."

When the Lambton Worm is thus treated, we need not expect any notice of the Cauld Lad of Hilton.

He first appears, I think, in the improper guise of a spirit of a departed Hylton himself, in a letter of 1809 from Surtees to Sir Walter Scott:

"Hilton Castle, the ancient baronial residence of that family, is haunted by a being called "the Cold Lad of Hilton," supposed to be the spectre of one of the family who killed himself. This being inhabits

a small room under the staircase where, I suppose, the deed was committed. He had full possession of the house several years after the death of the last Baron Hilton, but has been lately exorcised by the hospitality of the present occupant, Simon Temple, Esq., who came in the fortunate crisis to prevent the demolition of this fine structure, which was already condemned to be taken down for the materials. The death of the last Baron (a title the family have held from immemorial custom, not as peers of Parliament, but barons of the Bishoprick, or, possibly, as descendants of very ancient territorial lords,) was predicted by a greyhound with a collar of gold (inscribed with magical characters, illegible to all but the Baron,) which rushed into the dining-room without being previously seen, and, neglecting the rest of the company, fawned upon the Baron, who, to the great surprise of all present, declared that his father, who had been dead 25 years, sent the dog to him, &c. &c. *et veritatem comprobavit eventus*. The dog disappeared before morning, as unaccountably as it came,"¹¹

We are treading on perilous ground. Before quoting Sir Cuthbert Sharp's Hartlepool, a well-intentioned and, as to the Knight's work, an honest book, let me put in a reminder that some of the notes were composed by Mr. Surtees, and that touching these, "some amusing anecdotes could be told." One of them is told by Dr. Raine (Life of Surtees, 372). To Robert Chambers (see the Book of Days), such things are *not* amusing.

I now quote from Sharp. After mentioning the Hartlepool crucifix, he proceeds: "A legendary tale resting solely on oral tradition, states that a raven flew from the north, and perching on the turrets of a tower seated on the Wear, received the embraces of a Saxon lady, whom her father, a powerful *abthane*, had there confined to protect her from the approaches of a Danish nobleman, by which may possibly be adumbrated the origin of the family springing from a mixture of Danish and Saxon blood. The author, who wishes to adhere to facts, instead of presenting to the reader a fanciful pedigree, is glad to glean the isolated fragments which have survived the wreck of ages, and though the above tales are given, yet it is unnecessary to add any caution respecting their authenticity, although they may envelope some allusion which is now hid in the obscurity of fabulous legend."

In another page (79) he speaks of the portrait of the last Baron "still preserved at Hilton, let into a pannel above the fire-place, in the great dining-room.—There were in the same house, a considerable number of other family portraits, all bearing a striking resemblance to each other.

¹¹ Raine's Additions to Life of Surtees, p. 350. Is not the dog story an invention of somebody who was puzzled with the dog which bears company with the fountain in the gardens at Hilton. It has a collar with an inscription. The inscription is by no means very legible. But, after a little investigation, it reads I WILL NOT BYN AWAY.

One in particular represents a lady, young and handsome, of whom, strange to say, there is presented another portrait exhibiting her in a state of mental derangement."

Sharp printed in 1816. Garbutt's *Sunderland*, in 1819, gives us no further information. Neither of them speak of the Cauld Lad, unless his history is merged in that of the mad lady.

In 1820, appeared the 2nd volume of Surtees's *History*. The *Hilton* portion had been in type at least as early as May, 1818. I have not myself been able to trace to the people the story of the raven and the *abthane's* daughter, but it might exist at that time. "One proof perhaps (says Surtees), of the high antiquity of the *Hiltons* is the number of popular traditions which, in various ways, account for their origin. There is no improbability (though it is not matter proven) in supposing that the local establishment of the family extended above the Norman æra.—Romanus, the Knight of *Hilton*—might be Saxon, Dane, or Norman, or, according to a wild legend alluded to in Sharp's *Hartlepool*, he might with equal ease spring from a Northern Rover, who wooed and won 'a fair young Saxon dame with all her lands and towers,' under the disguise of one of Odin's Ravens. The account given below is certainly not offered as any portion of the *Hiltons' evidence*." And thereupon followeth Surtees's beautiful poem :

"His fetters of ice the broad Baltic is breaking."

On this subject I have nothing more to say.

As to the portraits, Surtees says that "a series of short, round, companionable-looking faces, on canvas, at *Hilton*, do not belie the family character. The last Baron, in a suit of blue and gold, still occupies the pannel above the fire-place in the deserted dining-room." Not a word about the lady sane and insane. Not a word about the greyhound mentioned in 1809.

As to the Cauld Lad, I transcribe the whole passage, premising that John Brough Taylor's manuscripts are geological, genealogical, and grave.

"For the whole evidence of the Lad of *Hilton*, I am indebted to the indefatigable zeal of my worthy friend I. B. Taylor, (*et est mihi sæpe vocandus*,) who collected and collated all the floating oral evidence which all the seniors of *Hilton* and *Wearmouth* could afford.

"Every castle, tower, or manor-house, has its visionary inhabitants. *The Cauld Lad of Hilton* belongs to a very common and numerous class, the *Brownie* or domestic spirit, and seems to have possessed no very distinctive attributes. He was seldom seen, but was heard nightly by the servants who slept in the great hall. If the kitchen had been left in

perfect order, they heard him amusing himself by breaking plates and dishes, hurling the pewter in all directions, and throwing everything into confusion. If, on the contrary, the apartment had been left in disarray (a practice which the servants found it most prudent to adopt), the indefatigable goblin arranged everything with the greatest precision. This poor *esprit folet*, whose pranks were at all times perfectly harmless, was at length banished from his haunts by the usual expedient of presenting him with a suit of clothes. A green cloak and hood were laid before the kitchen fire, and the domestics sat up watching at a prudent distance. At twelve o'clock the sprite glided gently in, stood by the glowing embers, and surveyed the garments provided for him very attentively, tried them on, and seemed delighted with his appearance, frisking about for some time, and cutting several summersets and gambados, till, on hearing the first cock, he twitched his mantle tight about him, and disappeared with the *usual* valediction.

“Here’s a cloak and here’s a hood
The cauld lad o’ Hilton will do no more good.”

“This account of the Cauld Lad’s very indecorous behaviour, on receiving his new livery, seems apochryphal. The genuine Brownie always received the present which was to banish him from his long-loved haunts with tokens of deep regret.—The genuine Brownie, however, is supposed to be, *ab origine*, an unembodied spirit; but the boy of Hilton has, with an admixture of English superstition, been identified with the apparition of an unfortunate domestic, whom one of the old chiefs of Hilton slew at some very distant period, in a moment of wrath or intemperance. The Baron had, it seems, on an important occasion, ordered his horse, which was not brought out so soon as he expected; he went to the stable, found the boy loitering, and seizing a hayfork, struck him, though not intentionally, a mortal blow. The story adds, that he covered his victim with straw till night, and then threw him into the pond, where the skeleton of a boy was (in confirmation of the tale) discovered in the last Baron’s time.—Amongst other baronial appendages, Mr. Hilton was one of the latest gentlemen in England who kept a domestic fool. The Baron, on one occasion, on his return from London, quitted his carriage at the ferry, and amused himself with a homeward saunter through his own woods and meadows; at Hilton foot bridge he encountered his faithful fool, who, staring on the gaudy laced suit of his patron, made by some false suthron tailor, exclaimed, *Wha’s fule now?*”

Something of the same style of story is related of a Lambton fool. Jacky was very deferential to the Lambton ladies, in opening of gates

and other attentions. One day, Squire Lambton, inclined to a joke, passed through a gate first and as often as Jacky attempted to open it, pushed it back with his foot. The fool bore this pursuit of courtesy under difficulties for a time patiently enough, but at last burst out angrily;—"Why, I really think Mr. Lambton's a greater fool than Jacky!"

These anecdotes are in fact only exemplars of a very numerous class. It will be remembered that Charles I.'s wise fool Archie Armstrong was degraded from the king's service and had his coat pulled over his head, 'for certain scandalous words of high nature spoken against the Archbishop of Canterbury his face.' The fool had heard of the introduction of the prayer-book proclaimed in Scotland, and sideling towards Laud as he was passing to the council table, said "*Whea's feule now ? doth not your grace hear the news from Striveling about the liturgy ?*"¹²

I have already stated that Surtees's account of the Hiltons was in type in 1818. In that year he writes to Brough Taylor as follows: "I sent you a message through Sir Cuthbert which I trust you will take in good part, to be careful how you indulge the Newcastleites with any view of the Hiltons. A Mr. Philipson, of whom I know nothing but that he writes like a gentleman, tells me that he intends to publish a detailed genealogical account of all the Hiltons, with anecdotes, &c., &c. I shall be ready to give him any assistance compatible with my own work, but I really cannot suffer my elaborate pedigree of Hilton, nor still more my narrative and anecdotes, &c., to be anticipated, and I must therefore beg, if applied to, that you will keep the Hiltons close in your desk, and refer Mr. P. to me, and he shall be very genteelly used."

Now this Nicholas John Philipson, the useful editor of the Durham Visitation of 1575, fortunately applied to Spearman of Eachwick. In December, 1818, that gallant receptacle of local lore wrote his reply, which by the kindness of Philipson's brother, our Town-Clerk, I have seen. He gives quite a different account of the spirit, and thus he gives it: "Now for a story to match Mr. Surtees's apparition huntsman. Some of the Barons of Hylton maintained an orphan boy as a scullion; from his activity he was useful, and regarded by the whole family. He went by the name of *Cowed Lad* from his short cut hair; at last he sickened and died, but in death forgot not his old occupation, but, as when living, was often seen sleeping before the kitchen fire, by such servants as were early up. As soon as any one appeared, he stalked away."

Spearman also mentions that "the last Baron John, as his ancestors had done, kept a fool.—A pitman, on the opposite bank of Wear had a

¹² Rushworth.

handsome wife. When it was high, her husband, good soul! carried her on his back to a summer-house. A song was made:

“Drive Hawky, car’ Hawky, drive Hawky thro’ the water,
Hawky’s but a little cow, she’s sometimes flaid to wade the water,
Take her up, and set her through, car’ Hawky thro’ the water.”

“Mr. Hylton hearing the fool sing this song, asked ‘*who taught him!*’ ‘*What wad you?*’ answered he, so no further enquiry, as after he answered ‘What wad you?’ no threats or beating could gain any further answer.” The rhyme is an alteration of a well known Scotch song about a cow whose pet name, a common one for her species, was Hawkey.

I will now show that in the popular mind this fool and the Cauld Lad were sometimes identified. Mrs. Booth of Monkwearmouth, who died upwards of 40 years ago, aged about 70,¹³ used to say that the Cauld Lad was living in her great-grandmother’s time, [*i.e.* about the time of the last Baron] and that he was a sort of idiot servant, and continually pestering the household with fooleries. He had an odd fancy for throwing away his clothes, and as a remedy he was provided with a jacket which was buttoned behind. Meeting a greyhound with its bones standing up along its back, he dolefully said: “*Times are sair altered with thou and me, poor beast, since we were both buttoned up behind.*”

Now the same story is briefly told by Spearman for the fool. “From over-gorging himself, his waistcoat was buttoned down the back. Stroking a greyhound, he said, ‘*Poor thing, thou’rt buttoned down the back as well as me.*’ I heard the tale in much the same fashion from Mrs. Storey, an aunt of the late Mr. Kell, whose father lived at High Eighton, and had told it to her. She added that the fool’s jacket was of leather.

Another of Mrs. Storey’s tales was this. The fool, dressed in livery, one morning was pacing the banks of the Wear at the ford. The river was unusually high, and a gentleman by invitation was to breakfast with the Baron that day. The guest, arriving on horseback at the opposite side of the stream, and seeing the boy in the Baron’s colours, shouted to know if he could pass the ford in safety. The lad answered that “he might come across well enough.” The gentleman plunged into the river, and was in the greatest danger of his life. Some of the servants, however, rendered assistance, and safe but soaked he arrived at the castle. The Baron expressed his vexation and surprise at his coming through the ford while it was in such a state. “I was deceived by your servant, sir!”—“By mine?”—“Yes, sir, by *yours!*”—“In

¹³ Inf. M. E. Taylor.

my livery?"—"Yes."—The servants were one by one called in. None answered the gentleman's remembrance.—"Why these are all the servants that I have," said the Baron, "but" (an idea striking him) "just call" The fool, whose name is forgotten, was called in.—That's the man."—"How," said his master, "durst you tell this gentleman that he could pass the ford such a morning^{as} as this?"—"Why, sir, I saw our ducks come across well enough just before, and the gentleman's horse had much longer legs than our ducks, and I thought, dear me, if they could come over, he would do so a long way better than them."

This story I have heard more than once, and from persons who did not profess to have any literary turn of mind. Now it also was by Mrs. Booth attributed to the Cauld Lad while in the flesh. But in her version three gentlemen were the victims, and before venturing into the water they asked if any thing had passed over it that morning. He answered *yes*; and the Baron, on hearing the misadventure, said at once, "Oh, I know who it has been!"

Mrs. Storey's account of the Cauld Lad himself was, that he used to be sadly in the way of the cook by hanging about the fire. One day she pushed him aside, and, taking up her iron ladle, banged him on the head with it. What with the blow, and what with the heat of the ladle and its contents, the lad died, but he continued to annoy the cook by his spiritual appearance. For he came in his old shape, but with a *scalded head*! This notion approaches Spearman's, and a Northumbrian will say when he sees you with your hair cut shamefully short: "Why, how they've cowed ye." Yet, in favour of the form *cauld*, I have a note on the authority of E. A. from a very old woman [it is well that Hutchinson the historian is not here] that the spirit's approach on the landings and passages of the castle was known by a *cold* damp wind—a murky mist preceding before him. All was *cold* and blasty near him. His long fair hair hung down his shoulders, his face was *cold* and deadly white, and his eyes glistened unnaturally.

The next evidence in this most grave and veracious history is a series of stanzas, with notes, called "The Kow'd Lad of Hylton," "by the writer of the 'Lambton Worm,'" Gateshead, 1831. This tract has been reproduced by Ross of the Arcade as a favourite chap-book. It contains a woodcut representing the Kow'd Lad as a gentleman without other clothes than breeches and shoes, minus his head, which, however, streaming with blood, he carries in his right hand.

The plot of the verses is that the Hyltons, whose "ancient lands, from south of Wear, reached forty miles around," and "northward reached to where the Tyne leaves Gateshead's sandy shore," had waxed lewd and lavish. One heiress married a Jew, who, contrary to what

we might conceive would have been the result, "hasted the fortunes through"; and another fell in love with the butler, whom her father sent away as a soldier. She scorns to know another love. Her father close confines her. "Her food, by hand unseen, each day, was sent her through the wall." She dies of delirium, and the stranger is shown her likeness in every stage of love. The Baron dies. "His heir a groom did luckless slay, full wroth," forfeits his lands and flees. The murdered groom appears the same night, and oft is seen:

"The head suspended by its hair,
He holds in either hand,
And carries, as a lantern good,
To guide him o'er the land."

The notes are the only parts of the book worth notice. As to the lady: "paintings, seven in number, represent her love from beginning to end, from her being a beautiful girl of sixteen or seventeen, to where she dies of delirium. The room is shown also in which she died, with a square hole above the door, through which her victuals were passed and in the room is a very high window, with a sloping bottom inside. This was to prevent her taking hold of anything to further her escape." As to the Cauld Lad, we are informed that "lately his visits have not been frequent. One of the servants observing that his poll was rather bald, took the liberty of placing a green cloak and hood for the spirit. In the morning both cloak and hood were missing; and on the table were found, written with chalk, the following regular couplet:

"Here's a cloak, and there's a hood,
And the Kow'd Lad o' Hylton will do no more good."

"Cauld or cold is the orthography of the word; but the ear being more familiar with the word kow'd, I have adopted it accordingly." "The ferry boat seems to have been his hobby-horse; many are the freaks he has been known to play upon the water, much to the terror and annoyance of the passengers. He would often get into the boat and row over half-way, then of a sudden disappear, and leave the women and children to shift for themselves; then again he would make his appearance, and after rowing them up and down the river a mile or two, land them on the same side they started from." Some other tricks are mentioned in the verses. At the end is this note: "Others have the Kow'd Lad, originally an orphan boy, presenting himself at the castle begging. But that he was stable lad or groom in the family is the current tradition. A gentleman near Sunderland has favoured me with a well written song of his." Then follows a ditty about a wandering boy being fed and

employed at the castle, and struck down by the Baron on his return from the chase, in which the loss of a favourite hound had enraged him.

The tract seems to have attempted to continue genuine tradition, but in the year before, 1830, one John Fawcett¹⁴ had published at Sunderland "a legendary tale" called "Hilton Castle in the Olden Day." This is in the style of fiction which must have Mowbray or some such name for that of the hero. The Baron returns to his castle with a wounded chieftain who had saved him on the Border, and gives him to the charge of his charming daughter Ella. He was called De Mowbray, was of noble kin, and, *mirabile dictu*, had led 'the Lumley's force.' It appears that he was Lumley's nephew! He falls in love, of course, and is promised Ella, if he returns crowned with glory. On his departure a wealthy Ranulph comes, and obtains the Baron's good offices: she sends for Mowbray by a page, who, bribed by Ranulph, brings back an account of his inconstancy. She is about to marry Ranulph, when Mowbray turns up in guise of a palmer, discloses himself, fights Ranulph, gives him his life, which is forthwith lost by his own hand; and then the page drowns himself, and the ghosts of the two suicides walk and talk by the Wear, but they are not connected with the Cauld Lad.

There is little to say upon this production. A note upon a casual mention of "Hilton's clay-cold boy," informs us that the Cauld Lad o' Hilton had kept lords and peasants in terror by its nocturnal ramblings, until sealed to eternal rest by the all-powerful spell of an *exorcist*," and that "though generations had passed away since the wandering spirit received its *mittimus*," yet passengers by the castle feared its appearance.

This *laying* of the Cauld Lad henceforth forms an element in the story.

The notion of Surtees that the Cauld Lad's joyful conduct in receiving his clothes was indecorous and apochryphal doubtless arose from his being more acquainted with the Scottish Brownies than with the laughing English Portuni or Pixies. A valediction in a Pixie story is much like that of the Cauld Lad.

"Now the Pixies' work is done,
We take our clothes and off we run."

And I suspect that when Surtees uses the expression "usual" in describing the Cauld Lad's parting rhyme, he had in his mind something still more closely resembling, or which had *originated* it. His advice to Sharp in 1833 is noteworthy: "Let us have the old stuff first. Some

¹⁴ "The author was clerk in a mercantile establishment, but died some years ago in a state of mental derangement." G.G. 1854.

local traditions might be mentioned as notes to the metrical remains, but have we a single old line of poetry to hang the Lambton Worm or Cold Lad of Hilton on? To enter into any dissertation on Brownies, &c., would be exceeding the limits of a metrical collection; so tell the stories short and quaintly." Sir Cuthbert's Bishoprick Garland did not come out until the next year, 1834, after the Historian's death. The story of the Cauld Lad is merely copied from Surtees's History.

Two or three years afterwards, old Mrs. Fitzpatrick, the keeper of the castle, was collecting subscriptions for *laying the Cauld Lad*. It seemed that a priest once exorcised him for some years, and nailed as many nails in a door as the number of years was for which he had laid him. The last nail was about to drop, and the very ancient woman was alarmed for the consequences. In 1838, "Mr. Roxby's new local drama of the Cauld Lad of Hilton" was being performed at his theatres. It appeared, I think, a year or two before. The plot and names are founded on Fawcett's poem, but there are variations, and the words "Awful Appearance of the Cauld Lad of Hilton" figured in large letters about halfway down the "Progress of the Incidents."

In 1842 a very graphic account of the castle appeared in the 2nd series of William Howitt's Visits.

"Hilton Castle (he says) was one of the last places in which a brownie or hobthrush flourished. There are various versions of this story, some of which seem to point to a more than hobthrush origin." After detailing the Surteesian account, he thus proceeds. "The country people, however, seem to have another idea of the Cold Lad. The woman who showed me the house, on arriving at a certain chamber, pointed to a cupboard over the door, and said: 'That is the place where they used to put the Cold Lad.' I replied: 'To which he used to retreat you mean.' 'No, no,' reiterated she pertinaciously, 'where they used to put him.' In her story, it was a boy, that on some account had been treated cruelly, and kept in confinement in this cupboard, where no doubt, in the winter, he acquired the unenviable epithet of *the Cold Lad*. A third opinion—is—that the real name is—the *Cowed Lad*—that is the lad with his head cut off; or at least with his hair cut close.—It brings the story back to the notion of the boy being killed by his master, rather by the sword than by scythe or fork. The woman at the house also asserted that he had no head. Be the original fact which it may, or be it none of them, it has for many a long age given plenty of food for the fire-side gossip of this part of the country, and there are not wanting those who assert that the Cowed Lad may still be met there. They tell of servants who, one after another, deserted the service of the house from frights which he gave them long after the time that he was said to

receive his green clothes; and especially of a dairymaid who was very fond of helping herself to the richest milk and cream. One day as she had been sipping with a spoon from various pans, the Cowed Lad suddenly, but invisibly, over her shoulder, said: 'Ye taste, and ye taste, and ye taste, but ye never give the Cowed Lad a taste!' At the hearing of this voice she dropped the spoon on the floor in a fright; rushed out of the house, and never would enter it again."

When Sharp again turned his attention to the Hiltons, and compiled an article on them for Richardson's Table Book (vol iii., 1846), he had gained some extra poetry. The Cauld Lad "was frequently heard to exclaim in the dead of the night, in a melancholy strain:

'Wae's me, wae's me,
The acorn is not yet
Fallen from the tree
That's to grow the wood
That's to make the cradle
That's to rock the bairn
That's to grow to a man
That's to lay me!'"

These lines are termed by Sharp "consolatory," and as proceeding from the Lad in consequence of his having an inkling of the intention of the servants to banish him, he having become wearisome to them. "However, the goblin reckoned without his host." And then Sir Cuthbert gives the Surteesian account of his exit.

To me the tenor of the melancholy strain rather points to long disappointed expectation of being *laid*.

"Long after this (continues Sharp)—although he never returned to disarrange the pewter and set the house in order, yet his voice was heard at the dead hour of midnight, singing in melancholy melody,

'Here's a cloak, and here's a hood,
The Cauld Lad o' Hilton will do no more good.'

"There was a room in the castle long distinguished by the name of the *Cauld Lad's Room*, which was never occupied except when the castle was overflowing with company, and, within the last century, many persons worthy of credence had heard at midnight the unearthly wailings of the Cauld Lad of Hilton."

Shortly after this I saw the worthy knight, and he told me that among the fearsome tales of an old quondam inhabitant of the castle was the following: One night she *saw* the Cauld Lad—"aye—that was the night, sir"—*looking in* between some shutters which did not fit close.—"Well, and what was he like?"—"Why, sir, *he had'nt a head*."

About 1848, I paid much attention to the Legends of the County, and being on a visit to the widow of Mr. Taylor, and within walking distance of Hylton, I extracted from her and the neighbours some few additional details. One tale was, that the Cauld Lad, being colder than usual one night, *asked* the cook for the cloak and hood to keep him in decent temperature, and she laid them accordingly for him the next evening. The morning after that there was found written on the table

“ *I’ve taken your cloak, I’ve taken your hood,
The Cowed Lad of Hylton will do no more good.*”

Some thought that the title of the sprite meant the Cow-lad or Cow-herd Lad, i. e. the Baron’s cow keeper. I ventured to suggest that, after all, *cowed* was merely a dialectic synonym of *cold* or *cauld*, just as Boldon is pronounced Bowdon; and that *cold* being synonymous with *dead* (*cauld deed* is a common pleonasm in Northumberland), the *Cauld* Lad was the *Dead Lad*, agreeing with the tenor of the traditions, however the old Brownies or Pixies may be at the bottom of them.

Again, there was a marvellous narrative making one of the Miss Hyltons fall in love with the Cauld Lad himself when living. The Baron found the couple in the Cauld Lad’s room, locked her up in the closet above the door, fed her there on bread and water, and starved her to death. The Cauld Lad he slew there and then, as the indelible blood spots on the floor of the apartment most plainly attest. The two pictures mentioned by Sharp were stated to have represented the Cauld Lad’s lady love. Then there was the more prosaic notion that the Cauld Lad had been shut up in the closet when he became so tiresome that the establishment would not permit him to practise his pranks *ad libitum*: and that at last the Baron, coming in drunk, and incensed at him, threw a heavy bootjack at his head and killed him, leaving the stains aforesaid. All, I observed, gave a somewhat late date to the murder, they differed in the unimportant point as to whether it was effected by a hayfork, pitchfork, or bootjack. They agreed that the Cauld Lad, in his spiritual state, was minus his head. The latest story was that a poor fellow, in walking along the road past the castle, heard a melancholy sound of *Click him! Catch him!!* close to him. Away he ran. The quicker he went, the quicker was it repeated. He stopped, and so did it. At last he stuck by running, and, dashing into his house in mortal agony, discovered that his boot heel had given way, and had been flapping up and down with attendant horrors.

All this was hardly in keeping with the pursuits of a grave archæologist. So I inspected material evidences. From the castle all the portraits had disappeared. The cheerful stucco-work of the last Baron

was still to the fore, but miserably denuded of the accompaniments necessary to its effects. In the noble saloon, over the fireplace, was a vacant frame for a picture and a bust above, and opposite this was another vacant place, and a pretty bust above. This was pointed out as "the lady." I am ashamed of the continuation of my note of the information I received: "One of the servants who used sometimes to give her food." A fight between Baron John and his man-servant would be an ignoble conclusion to the history of "my beautiful lady."

In the "Cauld Lad's room," in the third story towards the south, there were near the window some large stains of blood or ink or other dye, and a hole above the door leading apparently into the roof or some other part of the south wing. For some reason, the south windows of the venerable centre were placed closer to one of its buttresses than the corresponding ones on the north, and the window of the Cauld Lad's room rather slanted through the wall and was very high up. But the window seat, though slanting with two stages of seats, hardly bore out the statement that its slope inside was to prevent the imprisoned girl taking hold of anything to further her escape. Nor did escape from such a height seem feasible. It was a remarkable coincidence, and nothing more, that at the exterior, immediately below the window in question, the lime had assumed a reddish hue.

Afterwards I inspected the portraits of the Hiltons which had been removed from the Castle to Streatlam. A beautiful lady, with open breast and dark blue eyes, arrayed in white, over which is loosely thrown some dress of blue turned up with amber, is pointed out as having cut her throat. Another lady, with an excrescence under the right eye, seems older. Another has golden ear-rings, and has brown eyes. Her dress is scarlet over white. Another, with brown eyes, also in scarlet and white, is different from the last, and has an air of insanity. Another, in black frame, is marked "Nat. Sept. Ao. 1622, Capt. Mense Maij 1662." There is an old pair of portraits apparently of a brother and sister. She has her hair dressed with scarlet, and an open piazza, ascended by steps, appears in her picture. Another lady seems evidently to be her sister. All the above have very light auburn hair. I have enumerated seven portraits, but two of them, as Sharp has it, are perhaps all that can be considered as belonging to one personage, sane or insane. There is one more picture of a lady, in chalks. She has light brown eyes, and strongly resembles the subject of one of the other portraits, I forget which, but my note is "not the insane one."

The last phase of the Cauld Lad's story is contained in the *Durham Chronicle*, a christmas or two ago. W. P. Shield is the narrator, and by way of traditionary introduction, he makes the Cauld Lad a sort of

Banshee, cheerfully warning the barons of their death, with the uncomfortable prophecy "I'se cauld, varra, varra cauld, and ye'll be sune cauld tee," and moaning at the birth of their heirs. The explanatory romance is of the Rose of Raby and Lily of Lumley school. The Lords of Hylton and Ludworth are at variance. The heir of Ludworth, under the guise of Ran' o' the Burn gains the affections of Baron Hilton's daughter. She attempts to escape with him, being threatened with a match with John the heir of Lambton. Lambton catches the couple, fights Ludworth, and allows the Baron time to appear and to put the disguised hero into a prison in Hilton, prior to his execution. The Hilton fool, Dicky Witless, is allowed access to him, is sent for a monk to shrieve him, returns as the monk himself, and exchanges clothes. The cheated Baron pops the fool into a clammy subterraneous dungeon, and is alarmed at night with a voice that some one was cauld, varra cauld, and will die if not relieved. Then he chases a spirit, and in the hunt leaps off the battlements. In the morning, Ludworth and his father come *in propriis personis*, and find Baron dead and Cauld Lad dead too, the latter from the sad lack of sanitary dryness and ventilation in his dungeon. And so arises the legend. The tale needs no comment.

I hope that my chronological summary will not be unuseful in estimating the worth of traditionary lore, and of chronicles written little better than a century after the events they profess to record; for the last Baron Hilton died only about a century and a quarter ago.

I have not touched upon the facts which might have given rise to the tradition, because I think that the Brownie or Pixie was a relic of ancient heathendom and unconnected with any event; and because I cannot but come to the conclusion that the manslaughter or mischance or murder or suicide which has been tacked on to the superstition is of recent date. It is sufficient, in conclusion, to say that in 1609 Robert Hilton of Hilton, gent., in mowing hay, as moneyless younger brethren thought it right to do, slew Roger Skelton with his scythe by accident; that Baron William received a general pardon for all sorts of murders, manslaughters, &c., in 7 Fox; and, that in the reign of Edward III., 4 Hatfield, Alexander de Hilton had a pardon in the matter of the death of John de Farnacres, who was, I think, connected with Follonsby, an estate bordering the Baron's estate of Usworth, and which eventually was acquired by the Hiltons.

W. HYLTON DYER L.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the above papers were written I have been enabled to accompany them with the following illustrations.

I. Ground plan of the Great Gatehouse before the recent removal of its internal walls. The "Hall" was a through passage with original

vaulting which was covered with the stucco work of the last Baron in plaster. The four apartments to the north and south of this passage, formed by the walls which ran at right angles to it, were also arched over. In the centre of this arching, at intervals, were square holes, as if for the annoyance of any enemy who had succeeded in gaining possession of the ground story of the fabric. Above the arches was solid grouting, and upon that was a covering of paving stones, which formed the floor of the 2nd story. In the subsequent alterations the north east room was found to have an opening to the north to the wing on that side: and the communication from the destroyed door of 1728 to the south east apartment also disclosed itself.

II. Plan of that 2nd story, which was rich in the peculiar stucco work introduced by the last Baron.

III.—Plan of the 3rd story. The room to the south with the slanting light is the “Cauld Lad’s.”

When the above plans were taken, a second newel staircase was unknown. It is in the same front as the one shown, and is opposite to it in the thick masonry on the northern side of the Hall.

IV. Plan of the 4th or Roof story. The old leads, given by Billings, had disappeared, and with them the ancient chimney alluded to in my text.

The above are from plans made in 1864 for the present owner, who has obligingly allowed the use of them. But it must not be understood that they sufficiently show the ancient state of the building above the ground floor. The indication of the old lights in the plates and remains of the fabric seems to support Hutchinson’s statement that “the present centre of the building is five stories in height.”

V. A view in 1854, taken by the camera lucida, showing the destroyed chimney and the north part of the Guard room.

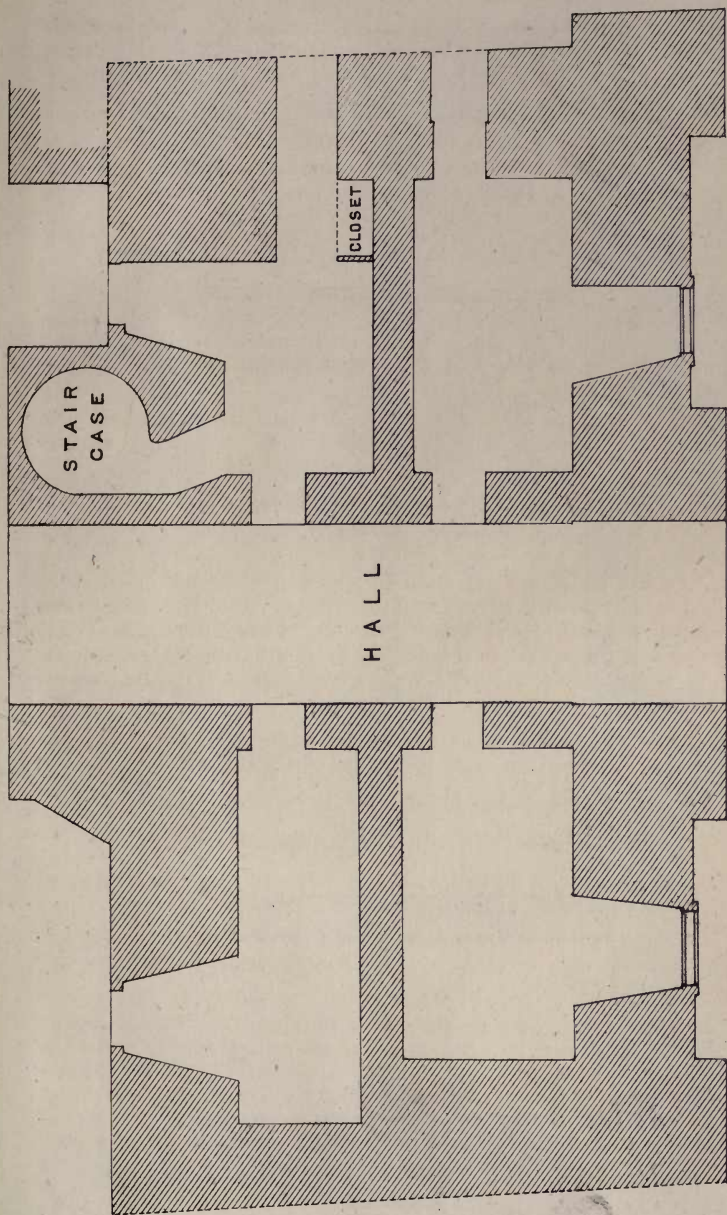
VI. Buck’s view of the Chapel, showing the destroyed nave.

VII. Buck’s view of the North Wing and the new Doorway.

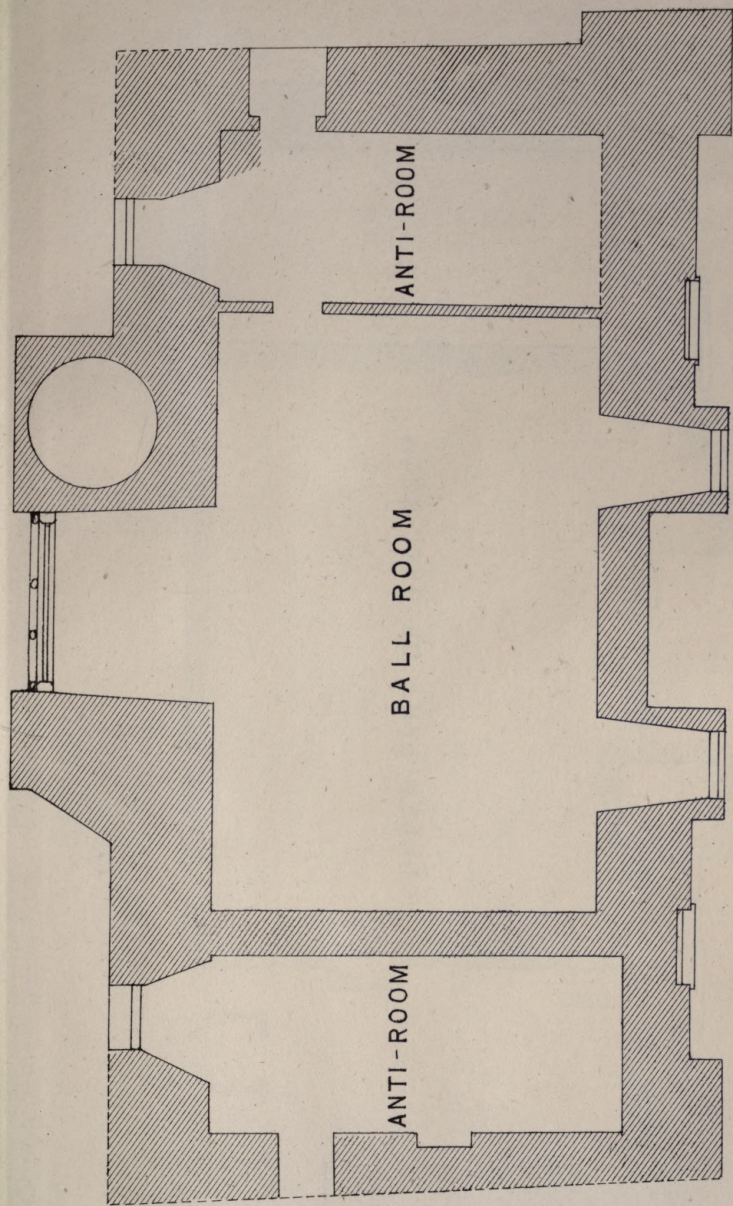
VIII. His view of the ancient Tower. The drawing gives a transom across the window above the Banner of the Hiltons.

The three preceding illustrations are from impressions of the original plate of S. and N. Buck, 1728, of which our treasurer has allowed the use.

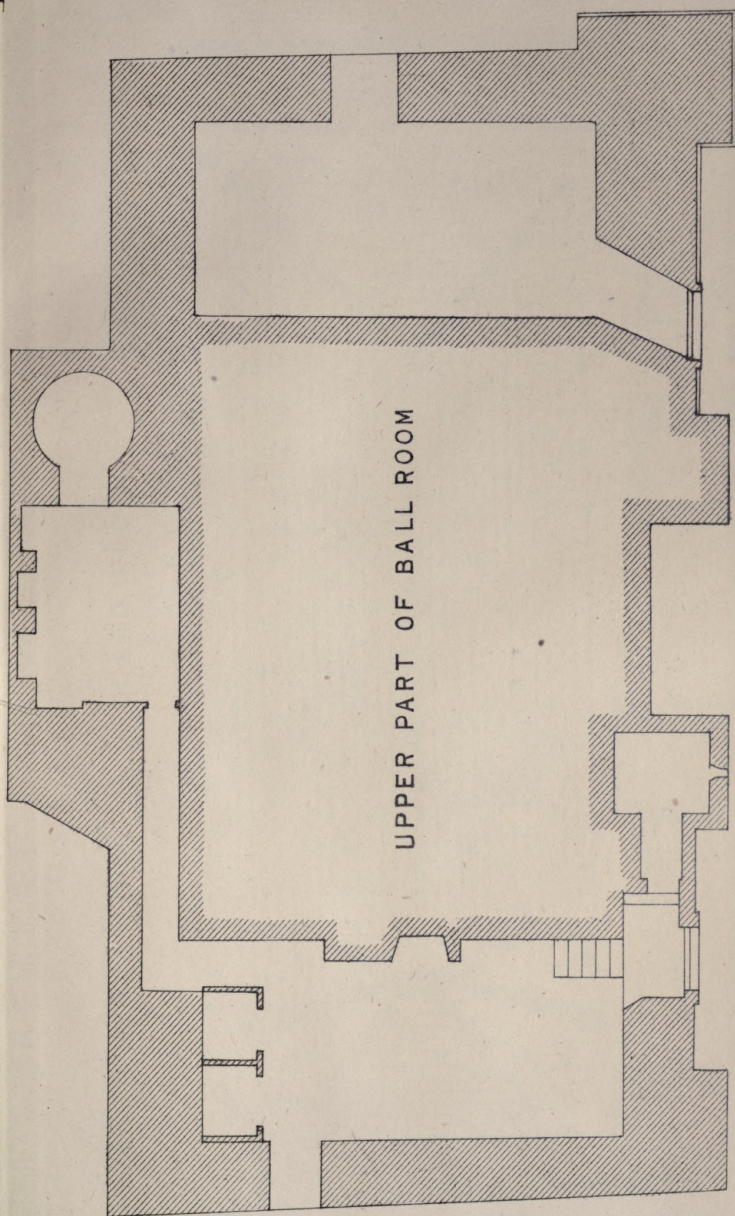
It is observable that while the nave of the Chapel was then unroofed, the transepts seem to have possessed both roofs and glass. It is possible that some of the rather elegant roofs of “Irish wood” which existed a few years ago were older than the last Baron. The ribs were thin, but with good quasi-Gothic mouldings, in *feeling* reminding one of the chancel roof at Brancepeth, and the portion above the altar had painted stars,



GROUND PLAN OF GREAT GATEHOUSE

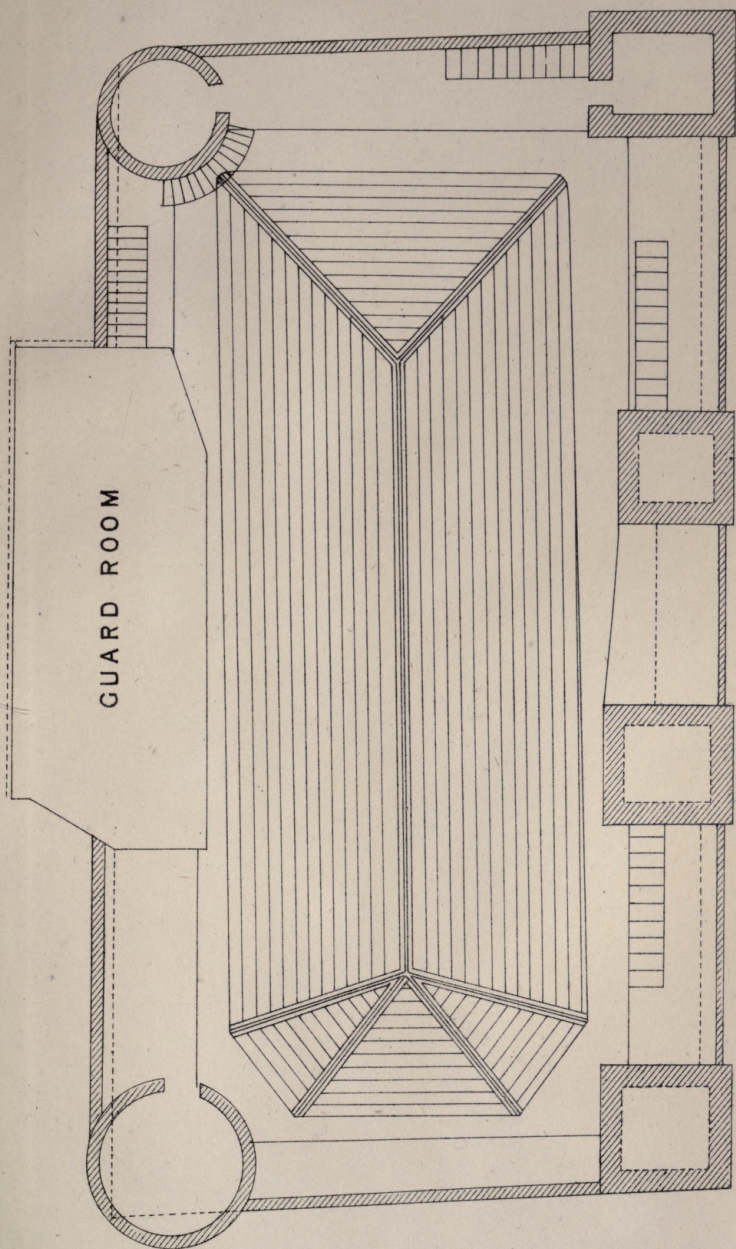


SECOND STORY OF GREAT CATEHOUSE.

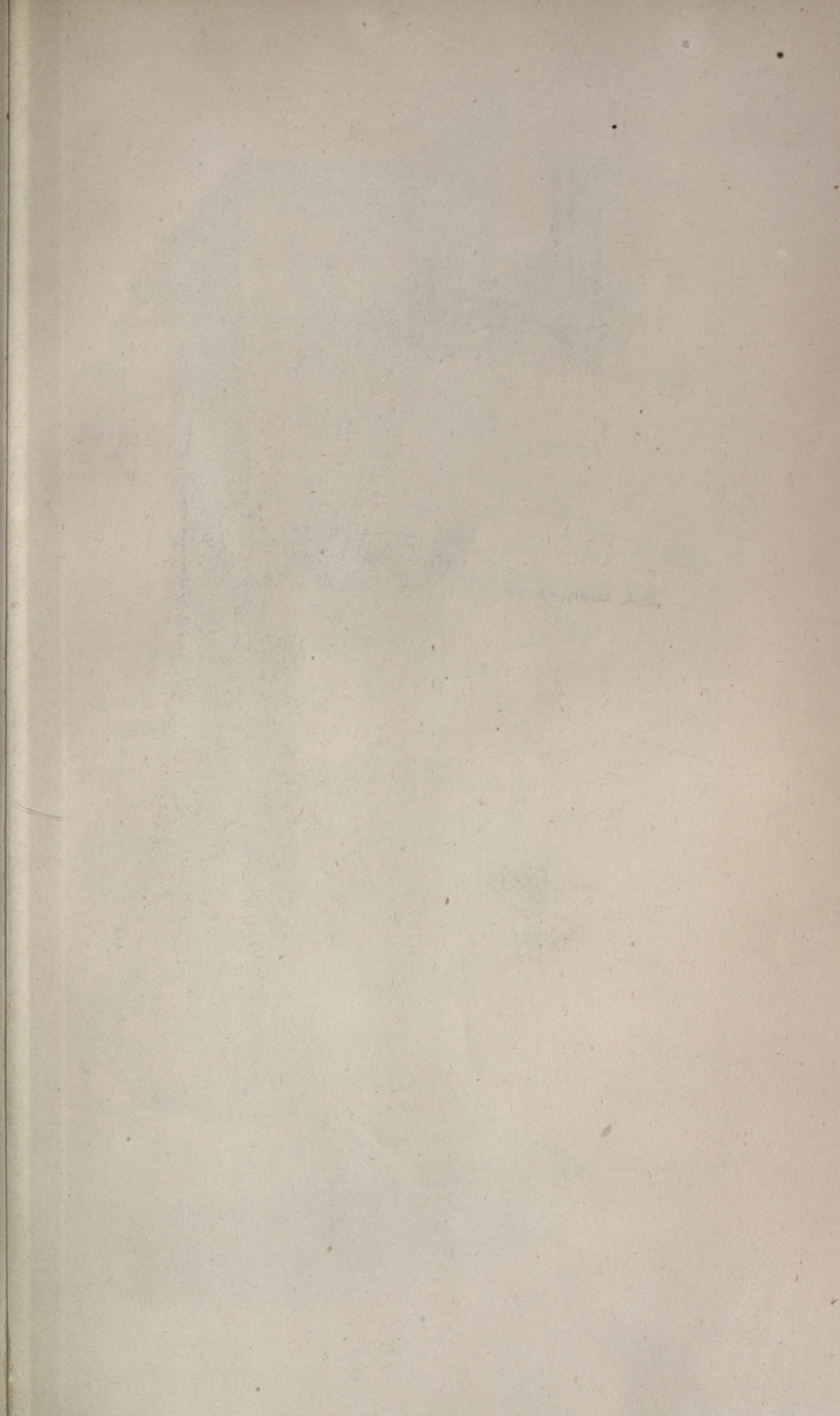


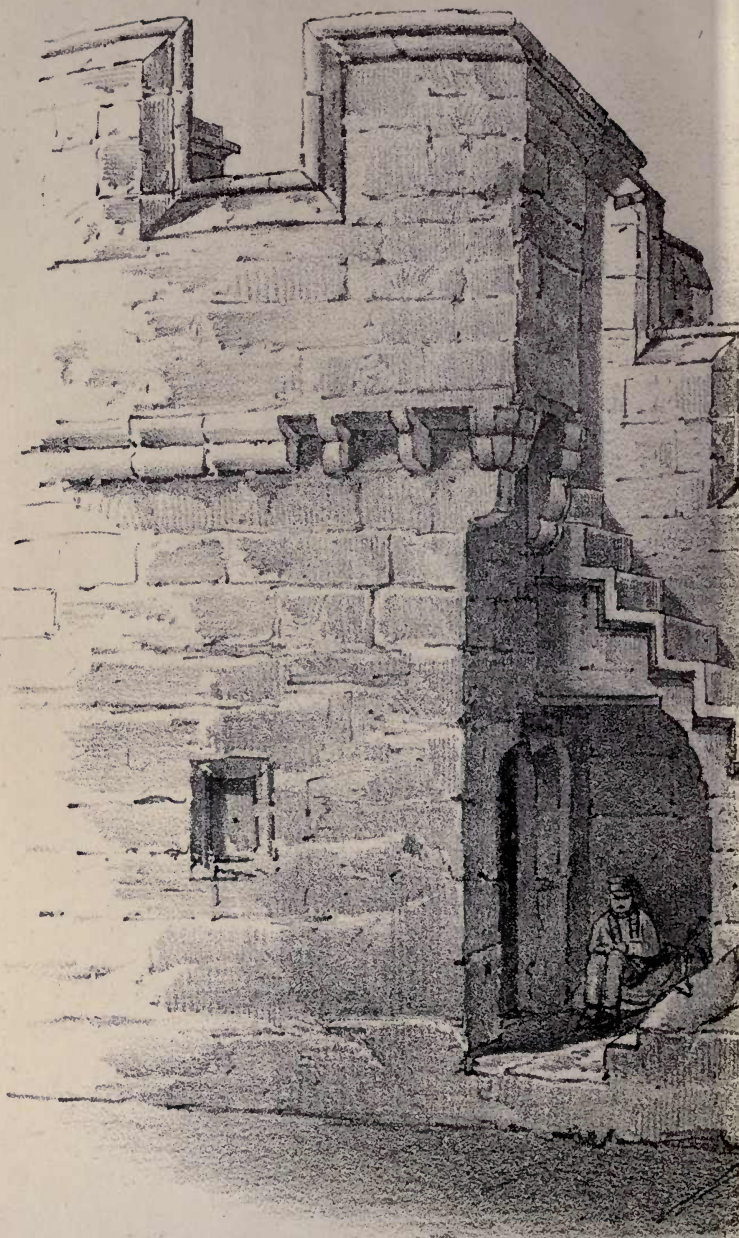
UPPER PART OF BALL ROOM

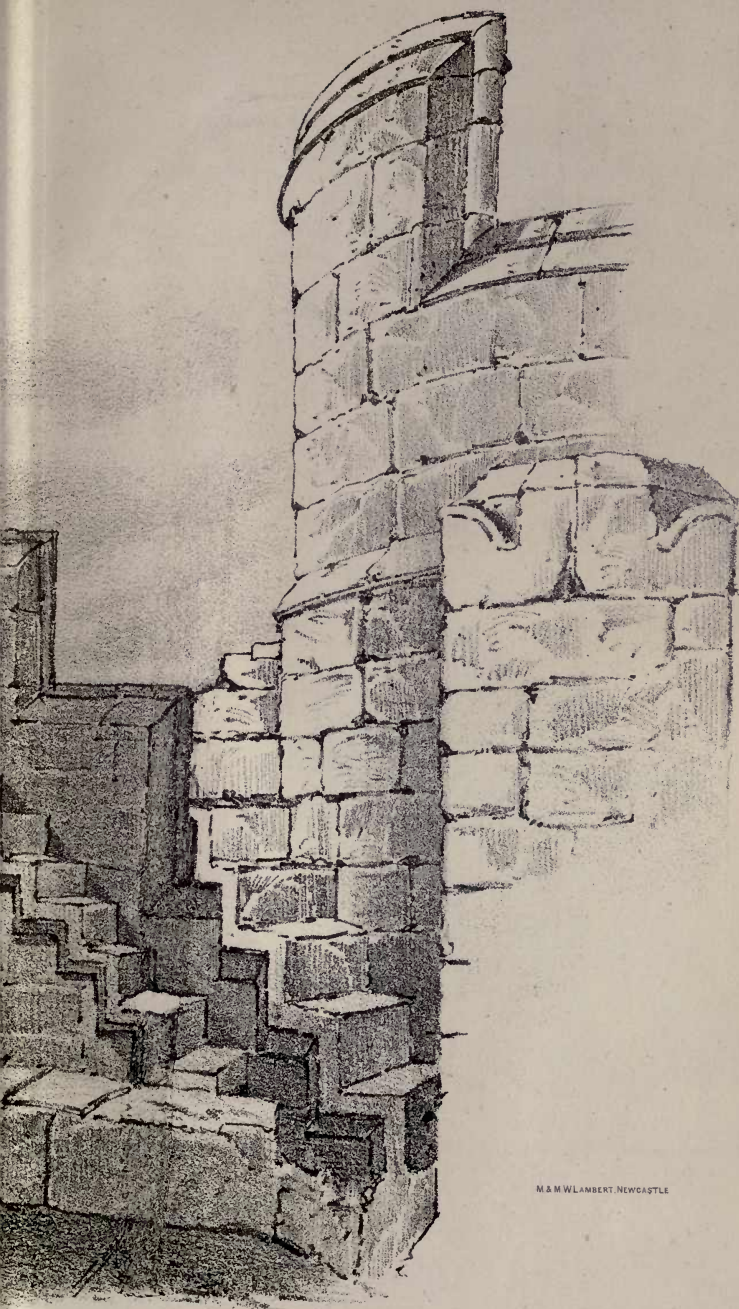
PLAN OF THIRD STORY



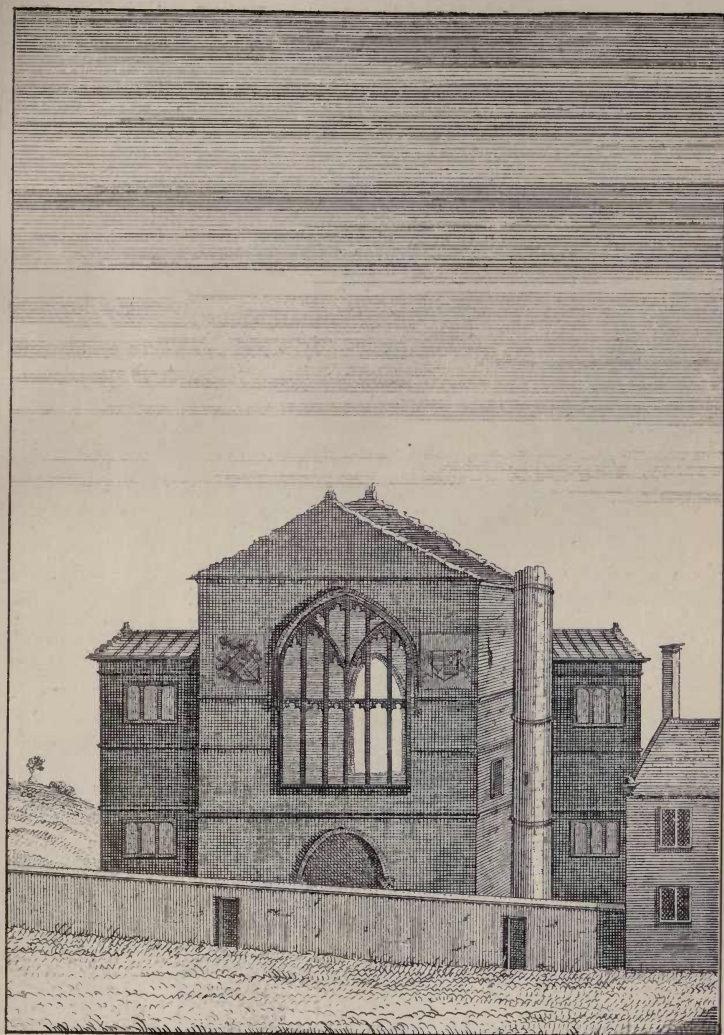
ROOF PLAN



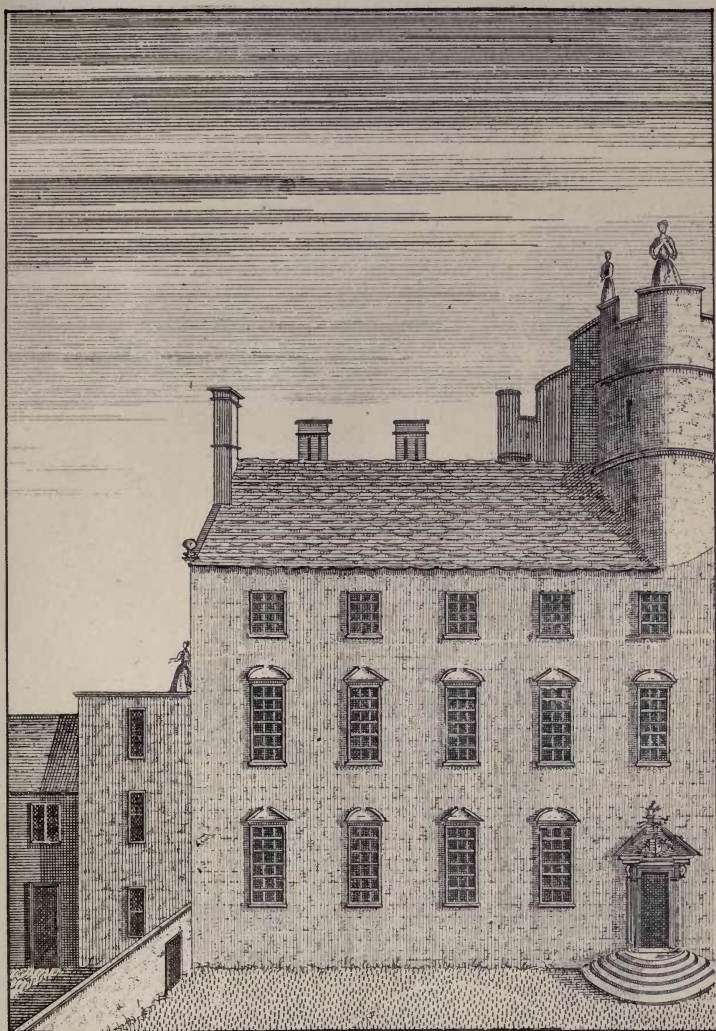




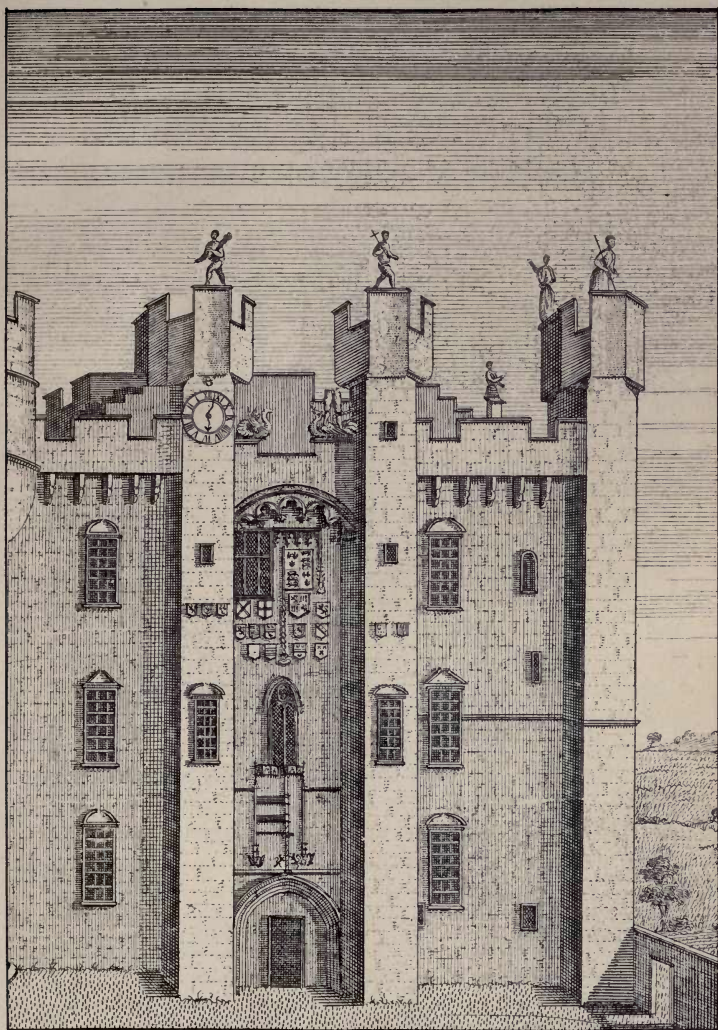
M & M W LANBERT, NEWCASTLE



VI. HYLTON CHAPEL, 1728



VII NORTH WING AT HYLTON, 1728.



VIII TOWER OF HYLTON, 1728.

NOTES OF AN EXCAVATION AT CILURNUM.

THE result of a recent excavation at the station of Cilurnum (the sixth *per lineam Valli*) has been to throw some further light on the history of the Roman fortifications in the North of England.

According to the theory of antiquarians, as enunciated and powerfully sustained by Dr. Bruce (p. 143, *Roman Wall*, 3rd edition), the station of Cilurnum was the work of Julius Agricola, in the reign of the Emperor Vespasian, or of his immediate successor Titus. It seems clear that, previous to the succession of Vespasian, the Roman rule in Britain did not extend Northward beyond the Humber. The country between the Humber and the Tyne was held by the Brigantes, a powerful British tribe. In the early part of the reign of Vespasian, his Legate Petilius Cerealis subdued the Brigantes, and took possession of a great part of their country. Agricola came to Britain in the character of Imperial Legate, A.D. 78; he spent that year in restoring tranquillity in the more southern parts of the island; the next year, A.D. 79, he advanced through the country of the Brigantes to the borders of Scotland; and, in the year following, A.D. 80, he marched without resistance through Scotland as far north as the River Tay. Agricola has left no record on marble or stone of his acts in Britain, but he is not to be classed amongst those whose fame perishes "*carent quia vate sacro.*" The historian Tacitus saves him from that fate. According to that author, Agricola made use of the opportunity afforded him by the inactivity of the enemy, during the years 79 and 80, in securing the country he occupied by the erection of fortresses, on which constructions Tacitus passes an eulogium in the following terms—"Adnotabant periti, non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse; nullum ab Agricola positum castellum, aut vi hostium expugnatum, aut pactione ac fugâ desertum." The station of Cilurnum doubtless was one of the fortresses erected in the years 79 or 80, and was about 40 years afterwards connected with the great Wall by Hadrian, its builder, and thereupon became one of the stations *per lineam Valli*.

The wall of Hadrian approaches the station of Cilurnum at its eastern and western fronts, and strikes the wall of the station so as to leave

about 71 yards on the north, and 115 yards on the south; and the immediate object of the excavation lately completed was to investigate the point of junction of the wall of Hadrian with that of the station on its eastern front. After the removal of the soil and *debris* which had accumulated during the fourteen centuries which have elapsed since the Romans abandoned Britain, the wall of the station was found standing to the height of five courses of masonry, whilst the great Wall was standing to the height of four courses. The two structures are obviously distinct and separate works, and though they touch each other there is no intermixture of masonry.

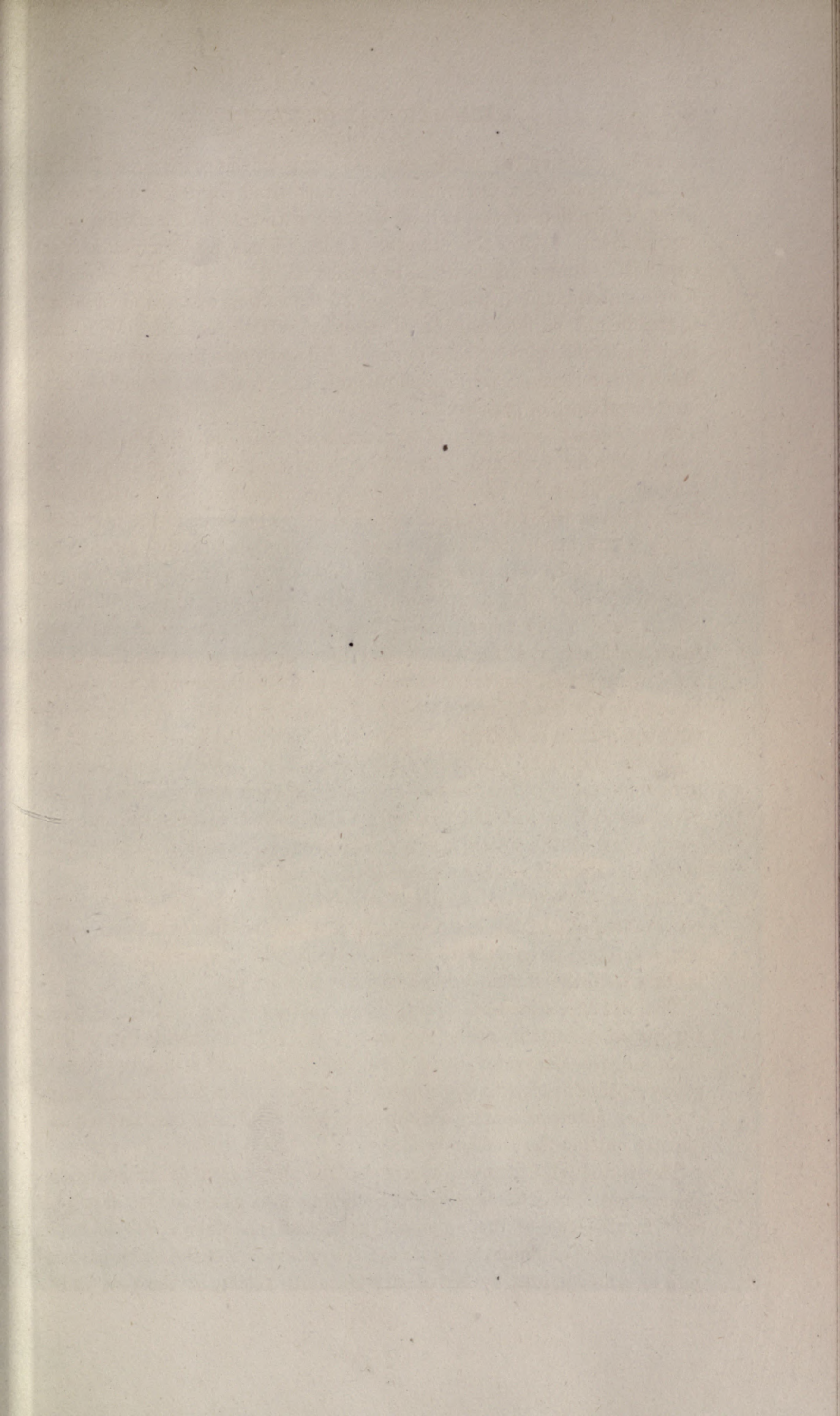
With respect to the gates of the station of Cilurnum, Mr. MacLauchlan—the able surveyor and acute observer selected for the Survey of the Roman Wall by our late noble patron, Algernon, Duke of Northumberland—makes the following observation:—"The gates in the north and south fronts appear to have been in the centre, and of the gates in the other fronts (the east and the west) those nearer to the south front are opposite to each other and about 57 yards from that front. We could see no trace of any other gates in these fronts (the east and the west) more northerly, and the Wall strikes these in such a manner that if the gates were placed conformably with the more southern ones, they would be *outside the Wall*; hence we are disposed to consider that there was only one gate in each front." (*Memoir by Henry MacLauchlan*, p. 27.)

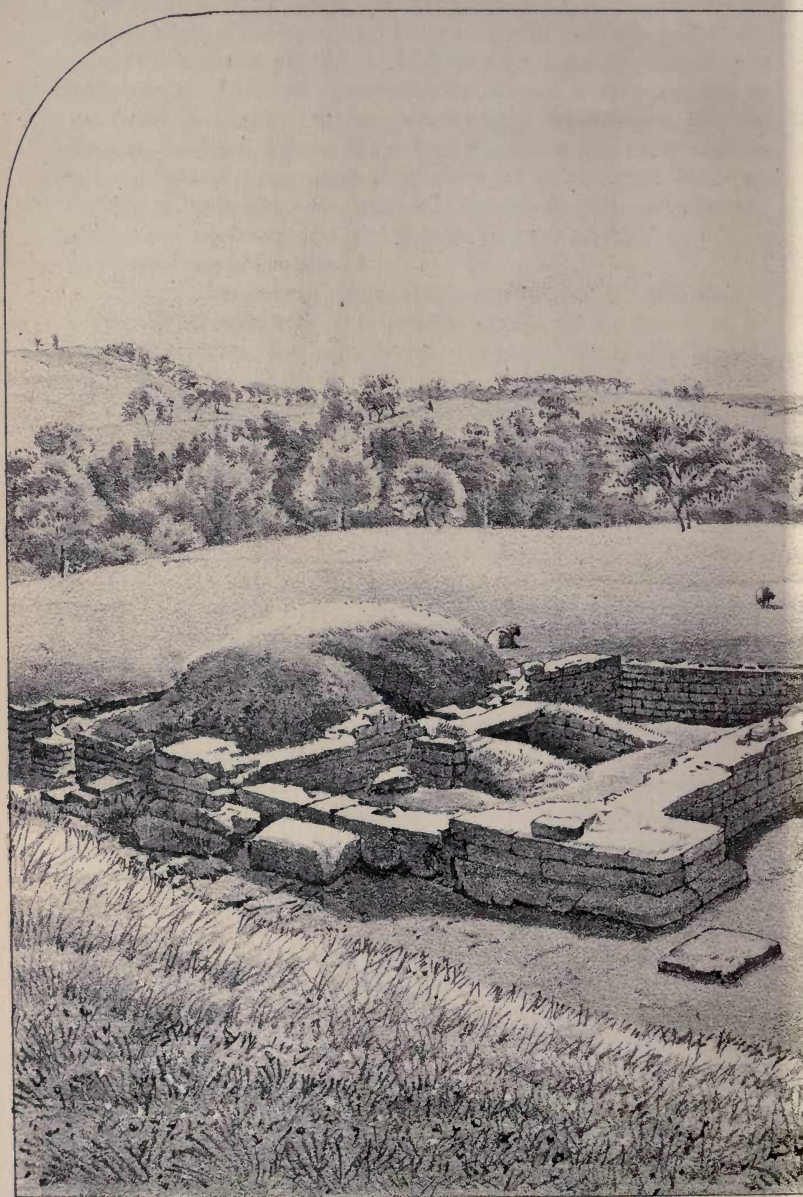
If the station of Cilurnum and the wall of Hadrian had been contemporaneous in either design or execution, then the reasoning of Mr. MacLauchlan against the existence of any other gates in the east and west fronts of the station would have been conclusive, for they would have been placed outside of the shelter of the great Wall.

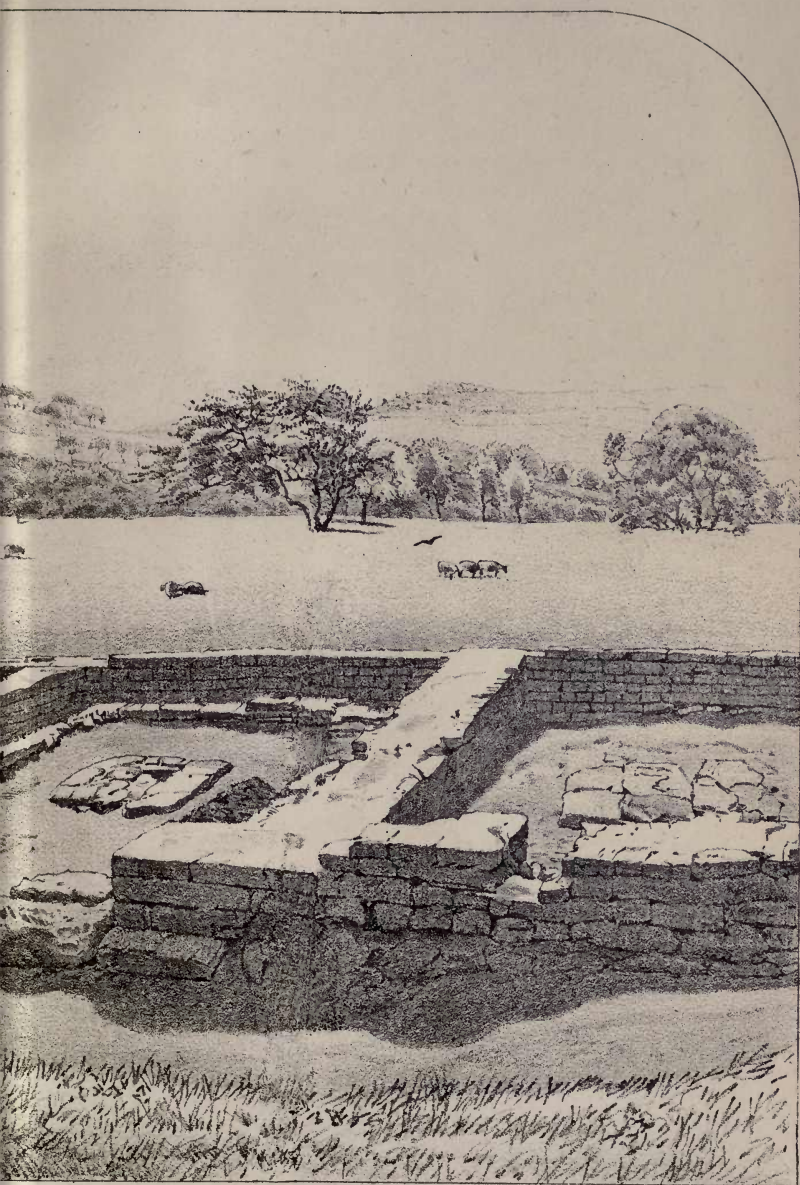
The eastern gateway, the site of which (57 yards from the south front) was pointed out by Mr. MacLauchlan, was shortly afterwards excavated, and was found to be a single gateway, up to which was traced the road leading from the Roman bridge over the North Tyne.

The recent excavation having been continued for a short distance northward, along the face of the wall of the station (outside the wall of Hadrian), the excavator came upon the remains of a massive double gateway, thus disclosing, contrary to the expectation of Mr. MacLauchlan, "another gateway conformably to the more southern one, and consequently outside the Roman Wall."

The station of Cilurnum, therefore, like the station of Amboglanna, has six gates, each of those stations having two gates on the east and west fronts—one of them a single gate, and the other a double gate. The very clear and minute account of the excavation of the north-eastern gate of Amboglanna, by Mr. Henry Glasford Potter, in the year 1852,

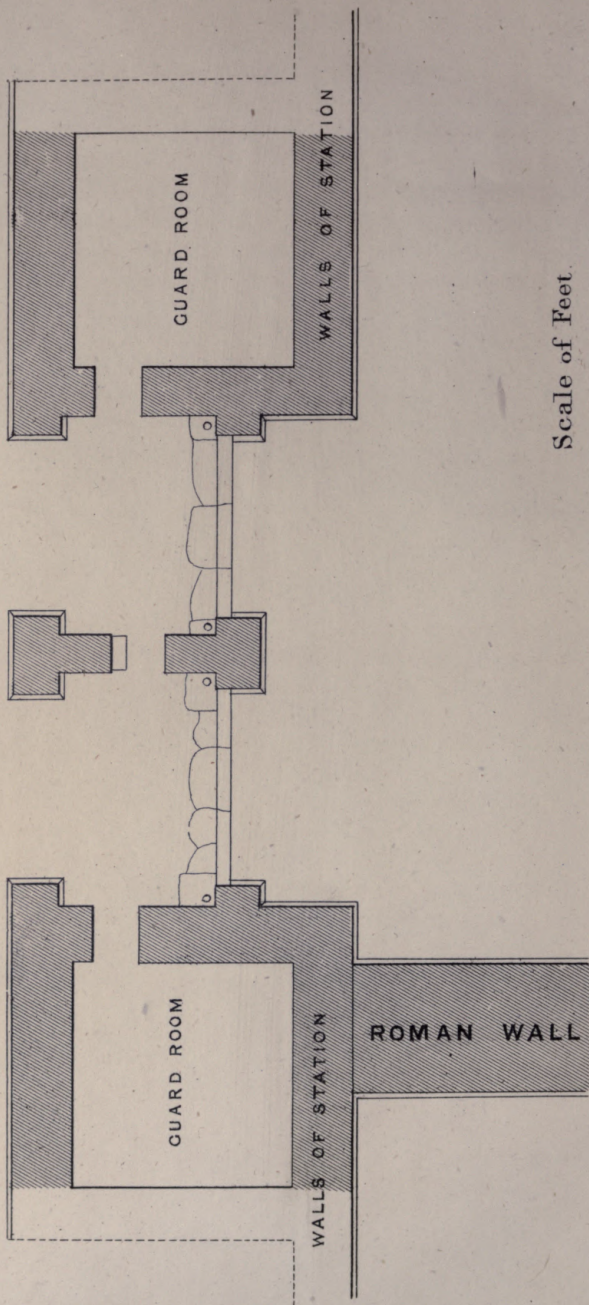




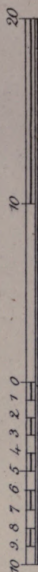


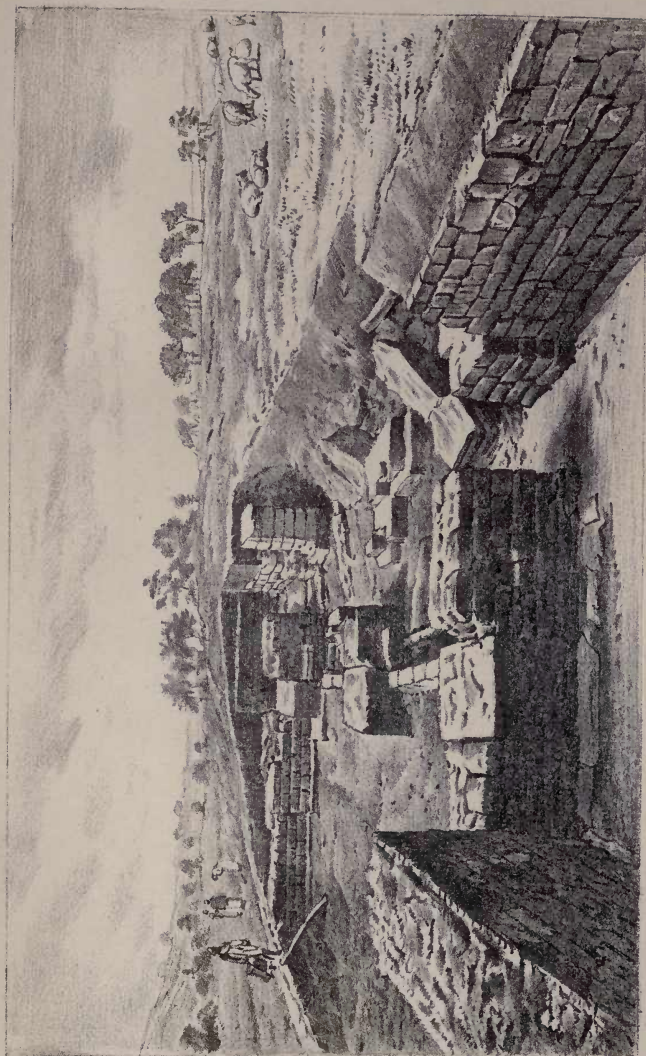
M. & M. W. LEBERT, NEWCASTLE.

INTERIOR OF THE STATION



Scale of Feet.





EAST GATE WAY_CILURNUM

published in the fourth volume of the "*Archæologia Æliana*," 4to, p. 141, supplies many points of resemblance between the two stations, both of which obviously existed before the Roman Wall.

Both these stations were placed on Roman roads, formed anterior to the Wall—the station of Cilurnum on the Roman road, to which, in modern times, has been given the name of the Stonegate, leading from Watling Street, to the Roman road, designated as the Maidenway, at the station of Magna, and hence continued in conjunction with the Maidenway to Amboglanna.

The ground plan of the site of the excavation, with a drawing of the remains of the buildings, from the skilled hand of Mr. Henry B. Richardson, will render any verbal description almost unnecessary.

It will be observed from the ground plan that the gateway is set back five feet from the wall of the station—that the opening in which it is placed is 28 feet 3 inches in width, and that the guardrooms on each side of the gateway measure 12 feet 9 inches by 12 feet, and are of larger dimensions than the guard rooms at the gateways of any of the stations on the Roman Wall that have yet been excavated. One of the pillars of the gateway was found standing at its full height. The wall of one of the the guardrooms stands to the height of eleven courses of masonry, and the station wall at the point to which the excavation has been continued is standing to the height of seven courses of masonry.

On the sill of the gateway were found pivot holes for the gates, but at an early period of Roman occupation the floor seems to have been raised rather more than a foot, probably for the purpose of clearing the top of a drain from the station which is carried through the gateway, and stones with pivot holes have been placed on the original stones. At a subsequent period, probably when the Wall of Hadrian was built, leaving this gateway outside and exposed to the enemy, the outside openings of the gateway have been built up with solid masonry, and the space behind them, as well as the floors of the guard rooms, filled with stones, mortar, and rubbish, and a new floor laid about four feet above the original floor.

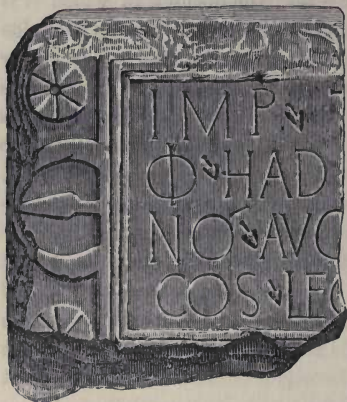
One of the two openings of each of the four gateways of the station of Borcovicus has been built up, which has been assumed to have been done by the Romans, as their garrisons grew weaker, and their power waned. In the present case *both openings* have been substantially built up, and the presumption is that the Wall of Hadrian having interrupted the communication between this gateway and the Bridge of Cilurnum, it had become useless, the gate in the northern front of the station affording ample means of communication, whether hostile or otherwise, with the country of the Picts to the North. The coins which have been unearthed by these operations are altogether imperial coins, ranging from Domitian

(A.D. 83,) to Valentinian (A.D. 375). With a few exceptions in silver, the whole are of brass. One of the coins of Trajan is a fine specimen of the produce of the Roman mint—it is a large brass coin of the date of the 5th consulate of Trajan (A.D. 106) unworn by circulation, having for its reverse a figure of Victory placing a wreath of laurel on the head of the Emperor, who holds in his right hand a thunderbolt, and in his left a spear, with the legend—

SENATVS POPVLVS QVE ROMANVS OPTIMO PRINCIPI.

This coin was found on the floor of the earlier period (that of Agricola).

On the floor of the later period (that of Hadrian) was found a tablet inscribed to his immediate successor, Antoninus Pius. The stone has been broken, but enough remains to render the whole legible, with the exception of the number and style of the legion, which are supplied with sufficient certainty from other sources. The letters stand thus—



IMP . T[ITO . ÆL]
IO . HADR[. ANTONI]
NO . AVG . [PIO . PP .]
COS . LEG[. II AVG . P .]

which being extended read “Imperator
atori Tito Ælio Hadriano Antonino
Augusto Pio Patri Patriæ Consuli
Legio Secunda Augusta Posuit.”

Antoninus Pius was consul for the first time in the year 120 of the Christian era, and became entitled to be styled “consul” or “consularis” after the expiration of his year of office. He succeeded to the imperial throne on the death of his patron Hadrian, which took place on the Ides of July (15th July), A.D. 138. Antoninus assumed the name of his predecessor Hadrian, placing it before his own, and was a second time consul in the year 139, when his title became Cos. II. (bis consul), so that the date of this inscription is with certainty ascertained to be in the latter part of the year 138, *after* Antoninus was Emperor and *before* he was a second time consul.

The tying together of I and O at the end of Ælio is noticed by Horsley as a remarkable contraction on an inscription to Antoninus Pius, found on the Antonine Wall, and deposited in the library of the University of Edinburgh (see Horsley’s “*Britannia Romana*,” p. 203, and No. 25 of “*Inscriptions in Scotland*,”), and the lettering and borders of this stone

very closely resemble those of the stones found on the Antonine Wall. The number and style of the legion is broken off the stone, but there is abundance of evidence that the Second Legion, styled "Augusta," was stationed on the Roman Wall in Northumberland during the reign of Hadrian, and in the early part of the reign of Antoninus Pius, and we find in the station of Condercum (Benwell) an altar dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus by a centurion of the Second Legion for the preservation of the Emperor Antoninus Pius.

The stone before us commemorates no work, but is merely a complimentary tablet inscribed by the Second Legion to the Emperor Antoninus Pius on his accession.



There has, also, been dug up a small altar inscribed,

DIBUS VETERIBUS.

"Dibus" is used for the dative case plural of Deus, as Deabus is still more frequently used for the dative case plural of Dea. Three altars similar in size and inscription have been found at various periods on the Roman Wall, one at the station of Magna by Baron Clerk and Mr. Alexander Gordon in the beginning of the last century, and now in the Museum at Edinburgh, and two recently at the station Æsica, one of which is in the collection of our Society, and the other is at Chesters. These three altars are described in Dr. Bruce's *Roman Wall*, pp. 187 and 188, 3rd edition.

The Roman garrisons of Magna, Æsica, Borecovicus, and Cilurnum, are shown to have sacrificed to the British gods—Cocidius, Belatucader, and Vitiris, and to the Persian God Mithras, and the suggestion that the Roman soldier, weary of foreign novelties, resorted to the gods of his own country, and addressed them as his "ancient gods," may perhaps be accepted as an explanation of the object of these altars; and this suggestion seems to receive confirmation from a passage in Virgil, *Æneid* 8, 185—in which the worship of strange gods is depreciated as "Vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum."

No similar inscriptions are met with in the works of Gruter, or Orellius.

The minor antiquities disclosed by these operations are of the character usually found on the sites of Roman occupation; they consist of large quantities of horns and bones of deer and cattle, oyster shells, fragments of glass both of vessels and windows, and quantities of pottery, chiefly Samian ware, adding to the number of potters' names found on the Roman Wall. Amongst them is a portion of a bowl of embossed Samian ware of unusual type; and on the rim of one vessel a Roman soldier has

asserted his right of property by incising the name of *VARIUS*. There have been found two seals separated from their settings—the one a cornelian stone, on which is a figure of Mercury, and the other of jasper, on which is the figure of a Roman soldier; and in the works of the early period was dug up mineral coal, showing that the Romans had discovered, at an early period of their occupation, that in Northumberland there was, beneath the surface, a material calculated to mollify its climate.

JOHN CLAYTON.

31st December, 1867.

MILITARY ROADS OF THE ROMANS AND INCAS.

THE design and structure of the Roman Wall from the Tyne to the Solway have long engaged the attention of antiquarians and historians. The noble volume, of which a third and very elaborate edition has recently been given to the public by the industry of our able Secretary, Dr. Collingwood Bruce, has left nothing further to be desired in explanation of this great military road and rampart. The general design of this work is thus briefly described by Dr. Bruce—

“This great fortification consists of three parts:

1. A Stone Wall, strengthened by a ditch on the north.
2. A Turf Wall or Vallum to the south of the Stone Wall.
3. Stations, Castles, Watch Towers, and Roads, for the accommodation of the soldiery and the transmission of military stores.”

In the following paper I propose simply to offer to your attention the description given by Humboldt and others of the great military roads constructed in Peru by the powerful monarchs called Incas who ruled that empire for many centuries before the Spanish conquest.

I do not, indeed, profess to contribute any novel facts or original information regarding those mighty and magnificent works; but if, by collating some of the statements which have been made by travellers and historians of indisputable authority, I can point out evidences of design and structure of a parallel character with those of Asiatic and European origin, such analogies almost irresistibly lead the mind to those periods of remote antiquity when the human race formed one family, and derived their knowledge of the primitive arts of design and structure from the same sources of knowledge.

I now proceed to read the paper which has been drawn up by a skilful and industrious friend of mine, well known to many of my hearers.

It is compiled principally from a popular work entitled "Bell's Geography," with which I am not myself familiar, but which embodies in a condensed form the reports of that distinguished traveller, Humboldt, and the Spanish historians, Sarmiento and Garcilaco de la Vega, so largely quoted by Prescott in his "History of the Conquest of Peru.

The following account, although given in a popular work, viz. "Bell's Geography," (vol. vi. 120,) affords some particulars which I do not remember in the account read from Humboldt.

"The chief proofs of Peruvian grandeur, industry, art, and civilization, are found in the public roads, aqueducts, and buildings. From the market place of Cusco issued four roads,¹ running towards the extremities of the empire, in the direction of the four cardinal points. These running north and south were each 1,500 miles in length. One was carried along the sea shore, through the plains, and another along the high ridge of the Andes, which still remains in many places entire—a work of stupendous labour, carried over mountains and valleys, and at heights equalling that of Mont Blanc. This road was 15 feet broad, paved with large and smooth flags,² and fenced with a bank of turf on each side; and to preserve, as much as possible, the level of the road, the hollows were filled up, and eminences levelled. At proper distances, *tambas*, or houses of lodging,³ accompanied with other buildings for store-houses, were erected. . . . Even in civilized Europe it was long before such useful modes of facilitating communication were adopted. The Roman roads, so justly admired for their length, solidity, and durability, and as monuments of former power and high civilization, were destroyed by barbarian inroads; and at the time when the Spaniards entered Peru, no European state could boast of any work to be compared with these great public roads of the Incas. As the Peruvians were unacquainted with the use of the arch, and from the want of tools could work only on a limited scale in wood, they could not construct bridges either of stone or of timber over the innumerable and impassable torrents which crossed their great roads; so they adopted the device of rope-bridges similar in construction to the *sangkas* or rope-bridges constructed by the natives of Thibet and Northern Hindustan. In the lower plains the rivers were passed in *balzas* or floats furnished with masts and sails. . . . In this, the Peruvians excelled all the American tribes, who were acquainted only with the oar. . . . Remains of the aqueducts (says Humboldt) are still found in the maritime part of Peru, extending from three to four miles. . . . The solidity of their stone structures was astonishing. Their architecture indeed was limited to the wants of a nation of mountaineers; it had

¹ From the *groma*, or four cross roads, at the Forum, the nucleus of the city, even the illustrious name of Roma itself is by some conjectured to have been derived.—W. S. G.

² Blocks or slabs of stone are probably to be understood.—W. S. G.

³ These correspond with the caravanserais of the East, and are attributed to the Incas.—W. S. G.

neither columns, nor pilasters, nor circular arches. Inhabiting a rocky country and elevated plains almost destitute of trees, they were not led, like the Greeks and Romans, to imitate in their architecture the details of a construction in wood. Simplicity, symmetry, and solidity, were the principal features of Peruvian buildings. . . . The ruins of the Temple of the Sun at Cusco are formed of stones 15 and 16 feet square, and which, though of the most irregular shapes imaginable (as the Peruvians were ignorant of the art of hewing them to a particular form), are yet 'joined so exactly that not the least void is perceptible.' Acosta mentions some stones which were 38 feet long, 18 feet broad, and 6 feet thick. . . . The stones are still more remarkable for the beauty and variety of their shapes than for their size, and were for the most part joined together without any cement. It is not however strictly true that the Peruvians were ignorant of the properties and use of mortar. Humboldt and his companions recognised cement in the walls of Cannar (a palace of the Incas). Its walls are of freestone, 20 feet high, and, including the fortifications, more than 480 feet long. The cement of these walls and the other buildings at Llano de Pallal is a mixture of small stones and argillaceous marl, which effervesces with acids, and is a true mortar. Humboldt detached it in considerable portions with a knife, by digging into the interstices left between the parallel layers of stone. Not only this marly mortar was employed in the great edifices . . . but even a kind of asphaltum or bitumen was used—a mode of construction known on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris from the remotest antiquity."

So much for Bell's account.

The most curious coincidence observable in the old buildings is the exact resemblance of the doorways (at least in the oldest buildings, which appear to be in Cusco,) to the Etruscan buildings, both in shape and mode of decoration. (See Ferguson's "*Hist. of Archit.*" p. 157, original edition.)

Cusco was surrounded, like a Roman city, with water—the most remarkable, perhaps, of all the existing remains of the ancient Peruvians.

The water and the oldest temples exhibit a gradation in which the regular squared masonry is elaborated out of the polygonal style, and it corresponds curiously enough with the gradual progress of art in Latium or any other European seat of ancient civilization where the Cyclopean or Pelasgic remains are found.

Mr. Bollaert, in a paper entitled "*Ethnological and Antiquarian Researches in Peru*", communicated to the British Association in 1857, considers the roads as the most extraordinary monument of the ancient Peruvians, for, although they were ignorant of iron, these gigantic roads are built of large blocks of a hard stone fitted together with the greatest nicety. He thinks the Incas probably built some of their cities on the ruins of those of a more ancient nation; but, Ferguson, in his "*History of Architecture*," appears to consider that the walls of Cusco belong to the age of the earliest Incas, or about the twelfth century.

Mr. Bollaert mentions some curious remains called the Pintados. These are early rock sculptures which resemble "*The White Horse*" in Wiltshire. They are on the rocky cliffs, surrounding what appeared

to have been ancient burial places; and he mentions a large *double circle*, and a block of granite sculptured with circles and serpents.

Many objects have been discovered in Peru that afford links in the ethnological chain of connection between the Old World and the New. Objects found in tombs of the Peruvian aborigines resemble in design certain Grecian vases. Customs of the ancient Egyptians are recalled to mind by Temple's description of some old Peruvian customs. But, above all, the *language of Hindustan* is found in the names of many places, mountains, and other natural objects in Peru,⁴ and it is not to be forgotten here, that the rope-bridges of the Peruvians seem to have been derived from North Hindustan.

Further investigation may render highly probable the conclusion that while the Latin and Sabine settlers—an Indo-European race—were founding Rome, a people from Hindustan were forming roads and raising buildings in Peru that resemble those works of the Romans with which we are familiar in Europe.

The Incas—those Old Priest-Kings of Peru—had reigned for at least four hundred years before the coming of the Spaniards, but the roads, and the temples, tombs, and similar works, must be the monuments of a much earlier civilization, which had probably passed away before the Incas appeared.

Some of the authorities cited in Prescott's "Conquest of Peru" (Introduction, pp. 57, seq.) seem likely to elucidate the question whether there are constructional resemblances to Roman work. See particularly Humboldt's "Vues des Cordillères," 294, and Ulloa's "Voyage to South America," 1806, London.

To these pages I desire to add a few remarks by way of supplement.

If we take for granted, as we are bound, the truth of Holy Writ, we know from thence that mankind, which up to the building of the Tower of Babel had existed as a common family (B.C. 2247), was then divided into tribes by the adoption of different languages, and dispersed from the regions of Central Asia into all the quarters of the world.

It would appear from a consideration of the architectural works of the highest known antiquity, that the arts of design and structure in masonry were limited to certain of these emigrant tribes, who carried along with them the qualities of a more advanced civilization than fell to the lot of the rest. Such, for example, as travelling east founded the Chinese and Indian empires, and such as travelling west became the founders of the Assyrian and Egyptian dynasties, and from thence proceeded, in after times, through Persia and Asia Minor to the regions of Greece and Italy.

These tribes, and these alone of the countless multitudes which overspread the earth, seems to have cultivated and brought to the highest perfection the arts of design and construction.

It is really wonderful to observe within how limited a zone of the earth's surface those countries are contained, the inhabitants of which,

⁴ Many examples are given in Moor's "Oriental Fragments," pp. 420, seq.

4000 years ago, dwelt in walled cities, and reared Pyramids, and temples, and towers, and obelisks, which are the still remaining records of ancient grandeur.

The inhabitants of Arabia, one of the most ancient peoples, to this day avoid walled cities and dwell in tents, as in the time of Abraham.

The savage tribes of Africa, even the semi-civilised Abyssinians, have scarcely advanced beyond the construction of a wigwam. Many, like the Troglodytæ of old, dwell in caves and holes like their congeners the apes and baboons.

These are they of whom Horace speaks as living "*sub curru nimium propinqui Solis in terrâ domibus negatâ.*"

The barbarians of Northern Europe, the ancient Gauls, Germans, Huns, and Scythians, were little superior. Of these latter Virgil writes in his celebrated description of the Scythian winter:—

"Ipsi in defossis specubus secura sub altâ
Otia agunt terrâ, congestaque robora totasque
Advolvère focis ulmos, ignique dedere."—*Georgic. iii.*

No better was the condition of the ancient Britons, Celts and Picts, the Scandinavians, and the Asiatic Tartars and Tungusians.

If we pass to the New World, the Aboriginal inhabitants are equally ignorant of the arts of civilisation; and the tribes of Esquimaux to the north, and those of "Tierra del Fuego" to the south, exhibit some of the most degraded examples of the human race in stature and habits, recalling exactly the description given by Tacitus of the ancient Fenni, which I am again tempted to cite as an example of the graphic power and singular conciseness of that historian:—"Fennis mira feritus, fæda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non Penates—victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus: sola in sagittis spes, quas inopiâ ferri ossibus asperant."

The empires of Mexico and Peru as they formerly existed seem to constitute the sole exceptions to the universal character of the Aborigines of all other countries of the globe, save those who branched off directly from the first centre of civilisation.

From what source, then, did the rulers of these nations derive their inspiration? Who was that Manca Capac revered by the Peruvians, as the founder of the dynasty of the Incas, and the teacher of the arts of civilisation and of masonry, which were carried to so high a pitch; from whence did he come? This appears to be one of that class of questions which are easier asked than answered, and is a problem which I shall certainly not attempt to solve upon the present occasion.

RAVENSWORTH.

ON THE LOCAL TERM "FRITH."

THE upper part of Teesdale, extending from Newbiggin to the head of the valley, and comprising Langdon and Harwood, with a large portion of the Parish of Middleton, is called "The Forest and Frith" of Teesdale : giving name to a Township.

The upper part of Weardale, comprising the Western portion of the Parish of Stanhope, is also called "The Forest." The name still designates a Township. Weardale had formerly its Frith, but the locality and the name are, alike, lost sight of.

Though Harwood and Langdon have long ceased to be wooded, the designation "Forest" points to a state of things once existing in the valley when it was really what its name betokened.

The adjunct "Frith" is less intelligible. The name subsists, though all trace of its local meaning has long been lost. As its being coupled with Forest would indicate a connection of some kind, an enquiry into the meaning of the term may not be useless.

The shape of the word with its open termination—a sound not now easily attained out of Great Britain—is Saxon.

The Anglo Saxon *Frith* has several meanings, but (according to Bosworth) none of them sylvan.

It corresponds with the German *Friede* (peace).

Leo (*Angel-sächsische sprach proben*), with some definitions analogous to *Pax*, of Frith gives a compound *Frith-us*, and renders it *Zu fluchts-ort* (an asylum or place of refuge.)

Meidinger (*Dictionaire des Langues Teuto Gothiques*) compares *Friede* with its Swedish, Danish, Icelandic, and other Teutonic synonymes, assigning to all no other meaning than *peace*, except in the North, where he says the further signification of *Tower*, *rampart*, or place of refuge, obtains.

Dr. Grieb, of Stutgardt, a comprehensive modern philologist, after giving German equivalents for the marine meaning of Frith, adds *das unter-holz* (underwood or coppice) *Geholz* (thicket) *kleine eingezäunte Felde* (a small enclosed field, answering to our close or garth).

In Coleridge's "Alphabetical Inventory of words occurring in the literature of the thirteenth century," Frith is simply rendered a *wood*, derived from the low Latin *fretum*.

That obviously falls short of the meaning. Mere synonymes would hardly have been strung together,—Frith added to Forest.

Equally insufficient appear Drayton and Minot's definitions, and those of some of the old Ballads, *a high wood*, as well as some provincialisms representing *hedges, hedgewood, underwood, brushwood, &c.*

In some early poems, Frith and Wood are distinguished as separate terms, neither, however, being clearly defined.

The "corn" specified in the "Noble Art of Venerie," as one of the indications of a Fell, in contradistinction to a Frith, would not be found in the upper part of Teesdale.

In its limited sylvan sense, Frith is stated to have been introduced by Chaucer; but it has not been found. Spencer is not known to have used it, nor Shakespeare.

In Blunt's *Glossographia*, 1656, "interpreting all such hard words, whether (*inter alia*) Teutonic, Belgick, British, or Saxon, as are now used in our refined English tongue," Frith does not appear.

Spelman does not seem to have been aware of Frith possessing any sylvan meaning. He translates it, *Aestuarium*, though he follows with the compound *Frith-brich*, as *Pacis violatio*. Out of his list of sixty-eight ancient English forests, six are in Yorkshire, two in Cumberland, two in Westmoreland, and none in Durham.

Evelyn, in his *Sylva*, has a dissertation upon Sacred Groves, but does not bring it down to Saxon times. Frith appears to have been a word unknown to him.

Noah Bailey preserved more old fashioned words and provincial terms than Dr. Johnson, whose classical turn did not favour Saxon-isms.

Bailey renders Frith by *a wood*, citing Chaucer, and says that the Saxons held several woods to be sacred, and made them sanctuaries.

Grose considered Frith as a West of England word, signifying *underwood fit for hurdles or hedges*.

The use in this country of the term Frith being almost exclusively sylvan, one would expect in any treatise of such subjects to find it explained.

Manwood, the great legal authority upon Forest Law, whilst carefully defining Forest Chases and Warrens, and prescribing the nature of Drifts of the Forest, never mentions such an accessory as a Frith. It may be questionable whether he had ever heard the word, for his illustrations are mostly taken from Southern and Midland Counties. Lancaster and Pickering seem his extreme northern points.

Lord Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum* has, except in name, nothing to do with woods.

Coke, a Norfolk man and co-temporary of Manwood, and who only

treats of Forests incidentally, whilst the other discussed them specially, says (L. I. C. I. 56):—"Frythe is a plaine between woods, and so is Lawnd or Lound." He afterwards explains words so thoroughly local as *Comb*, *Hope*, *Dene*, *Glyn*, and *Haugh*—terms quite out of the way of an East Anglian, and not likely then to be met with in books. Except he had ridden the Northern Circuit, how could that profound and crabbed Lawyer have picked up these names.

It might have been expected that a Local Historian of the County would have explained the parochial subdivisions of his own valley, and their names; but, beyond stating that the Baliols had an ancient Forest in the Parish of Middleton, subsequently disforested, and naming the township as to land-tax and county-rates, Hutchinson makes no allusion to Forest and Frith—an odd omission for a resident at Barnard Castle.

Surtees unfortunately left Stanhope and Middleton untouched, otherwise we should have had the history of each Parish fully elucidated.

Brockett, in his *Glossary of North Country Words*, does not give Frith. Had it been a common expression he would hardly have overlooked it. Probably it does not exist at all in Northumberland or Cumberland, nor in Durham, except Teesdale—in Weardale it has long been obsolete.

In the *Teesdale Glossary*, 1849, the word is not given. The author perhaps regarded it rather in the light of a proper name. Marwood Chase, which he describes, would otherwise have suggested some allusion to the Forest of Upper Teesdale. Upon the whole, Coke's interpretation seems nearest the mark, and best adapted to the local circumstances of Teesdale and Weardale. The Frith or clearing in the Forest of Weardale would probably be earlier made and much wider than that of Teesdale, as the population and cultivation of Upper Teesdale bear no proportion to those of the Park and Forest Quarters of Stanhope.

The deer in Teesdale Forest must have been well preserved for 400 to perish in the snow in 1673. A century before they were becoming scarce in Weardale through the advance of cultivation and the encroachments of the Dalesmen.

The destruction in Teesdale, in 1673, seems to have been great. Sir W. Bowes, when appointed Chief Ranger in 1685, covenanted, among other things, to replenish the Forest and Chase with Deer.

Whether any then existed in Weardale is doubtful, for in 1595 only forty head were officially reported to remain.

T. H. B.

August, 1870.

THE ALTARS RECENTLY FOUND IN THE ROMAN CAMP AT MARYPORT.

THE North of England is rich in Roman Inscriptions. Comparatively few have been found in the South; but fortunate as we are in this respect, never before, probably, were the antiquaries of this district able to rejoice over such a sudden acquisition of treasure as we have just heard of. In the short space of a month not less than seventeen altars have been exhumed on a spot of ground outside the camp of Maryport, and all of these, with a single exception, bear inscriptions which are distinctly legible.

Before proceeding to notice the altars in detail, I may be permitted to make some observations upon the camp in the vicinity of which they have been found.

When the Romans grasped the throat of England—the isthmus between the Tyne and the Solway—they did it with a tenacity all their own. They not only drew the Wall from sea to sea, but they planted garrisons to the north and south of it, to stem in either direction the first torrent of attack. In addition to this, they seem to have given considerable attention to the fortification of the Cumbrian coast south of the Wall.

Camden, who visited this neighbourhood in 1599, draws attention strongly to the latter fact. Speaking of St. Bees Head, he says (I quote from the contemporary translation of Philemon Holland), “From hence the shore draweth itself back by little and little, and as it appeareth by the heapes of rubbish, it hath been fortified all along by the Romanes wheresoever there was easie landing. For it was the outmost bound of the Roman empire, and the Scots lay sorest upon this coast and infested it most when, as it were, with continual surges of warre they flowed and flocked hither by heapes out of Ireland; and certaine it is that Moresby, a little village where is a road for ships, was one of these fortifications.” Again, speaking of Workington—“a place famous for taking of salmons”—he says, “From hence some thinke there was a wall made to defend the shore in convenient places for four miles or thereabout by Stilico, the potent commander in the Roman state, what time as the Scots annoyed these coasts out of Ireland. For thus speaketh Britaine of herselfe in

Claudian: '*Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, munivit Stilico, totam cum Scotus Hibernem movit, et infesto spumavit remige Thetis.*' There are also (he goes on to say) continued ruins and broken walls to be seene as farre as to Elne Mouth. Seated upon the height of a hill, the camp hath a goodly prospect farre into the Irish sea, but now corne growes where the towne stood, nevertheless many expresse footings thereof are evidently to be seene, the ancient vaults stand open, and many altars, stones with inscriptions and statues are here gotten out of the ground, which J. Sinhous, a very honest man, in whose grounds they are digged up, keepeth charily, and hath placed orderly about his house."

I have no doubt that Camden has correctly described the manner in which this coast was fortified by the Romans, but I am quite sure that he and his authority, Claudian, are wrong in ascribing the work to Stilico. I have little hesitation in saying that the altars of which we are now to treat were buried in the spot where they have recently been found, two centuries before Stilico appeared upon the stage of the world's history. As it is of importance to fix a time when the Romans seized the magnificent site now occupied by the camp of Maryport, we may as well at once address ourselves to this subject. On two of the altars recently discovered, and on another with which we have been long familiar, the name of Marcus Mænius Agrippa, the tribune, occurs. Now from an inscription which has been found near the modern city of Camerino in central Italy, we learn that M. Mænius Agrippa was a personal friend of the Emperor Hadrian, and that amongst the other offices which he held was that of prefect (or as we would call it admiral) of the British fleet. This enables us to fix the date of these altars. Hadrian was in Britain in the year 120, and it is not improbable that he may have brought his friend Agrippa along with him. Further, as there can be little doubt that the Romans established a camp at Maryport, because it commands the Solway Frith, and all the waters in its vicinity, we see why the admiral of the British fleet was appointed to this station. But we have other evidence than this of the comparatively early occupation of the camp of Maryport by the Romans.

On two altars discovered some time ago, and which are now in the portico of the mansion at Netherhall, we find a prefect named Acilianus, making on one of them a dedication to Jupiter. The date when Acilianus flourished is rendered clear by another of the treasures preserved in the portico, a much-broken slab, which mentions the erection of some building by this prefect, and "for the safety of Antoninus Pius." Antoninus Pius was the immediate successor of Hadrian, and he assumed the purple A.D. 138. The Romans must therefore have been here in the time of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. The newly discovered altars, excepting

that they supply us with the name of Mænius Agrippa, do not furnish us with a date. Still we are not altogether at a loss upon this subject. The character of an inscription and the form of the letters employed often enable us to judge approximately of its age. In the time of Hadrian the inscriptions were brief and simple, the letters well formed, and there was an entire absence of the practice which was afterwards introduced of uniting two or three letters together after the manner of our diphthongs. Judging from intimations of this character, I would venture to suggest that the latest of these newly found altars belongs to the reign of Antoninus Pius. I am glad to find this opinion corroborated by a gentleman well entitled to speak upon the subject.

Mr. John Buchanan of Glasgow, who is familiar with the inscriptions found upon the Roman Wall in Scotland, all of which belong to the reign of Antoninus Pius, writes to me thus—"These altars, as well as the cut of the letters, closely resemble those found along the Antonine Wall, and I agree with you in conjecturing that their era is about the reign of Antoninus Pius." I think, moreover, not only that these altars were carved at the early period of which I speak, but that they were buried in the spot where they have been found long before the abandonment of Britain by the Romans. I found this opinion not only upon the clearness and sharpness of their sculpture, but upon another circumstance. After the Romans had been long in the country, and had formed matrimonial and other connections with the friendly natives, their own mythology became blended with the superstitions of the people with whom they associated. The native gods were associated with those of Greece and Rome. Now, amongst the recently discovered altars we find no trace of a British divinity. Jupiter is the chief object of worship, twelve altars being dedicated to him; the others are addressed to the Emperor, to Victory, to Mars, and to Vulcan. Had the altars been buried in the third or fourth centuries I think we should have had some traces of the Cumbrian gods *Cocidius* and *Belatucader*, which we do not; and I think, also, that we should have had some indications of the conflict of opinion, which we know was then taking place, in the discovery of some altars dedicated *Dibus Veteribus*—to the *old gods*; and probably, also, some dedication to the Persian god *Mithras*, the worship of whom at that time was exceedingly prevalent.

Before proceeding to form a conjecture (absolute certainty, I fear, is unattainable) as to the causes which led to the interment of the altars before us, it is necessary that we should know the circumstances attending their discovery. The spot on which the altars have been found lies at the distance of about 350 yards from the Roman camp which overlooks the modern town of Maryport, in a northerly direction. The

altars have been clustered together in a space somewhat circular in its character, and of about 60 feet in diameter.

The discovery occurred in this manner:—The owner of the estate in which the camp is situated, J. Pocklington Senhouse, Esq., of Netherhall, having taken into his own hands a portion of ground hitherto cultivated by a tenant, had given orders for having it brought into good condition. As a first step in this process, the plough was driven to a greater depth than had previously been done. Here and there the share struck against large stones which were marked for removal. On the 13th of April, 1870, a stone was dislodged, and on its being removed, a carved block was seen lying beneath it. This proved to be an altar. The attention of Mr. Humphrey Senhouse was called to the circumstance, and he instantly and energetically adopted those measures which have resulted in the discovery of the largest find of altars on record.

It seems that a series of pits had been formed in the circular space of ground to which I have referred. These pits were from four to six feet deep, and usually they penetrated the subsoil (which here is a stiff clay) to some extent. The bottom of several of these pits was paved with "cobble" stones. Into these pits the altars had been put. In no one instance was the face of the altar found lying uppermost. In several cases the inscriptions were lying sideways, in some downwards. Two of the pits contained three altars each; four other pits contained two each; others only one. Besides the holes in which altars were found others were examined in which no perfect altar was discovered, but only broken pieces of altars and a mass of loose stone. The appearances presented by these barren pits led the excavators to suppose that they too had originally been occupied by altars, but that at some period anterior to the present they had been noticed and removed. The altars had been deposited in their beds with care. When more than one had been placed in a pit it was covered over with loose stones and earth before the next was put in, and the second or third was covered in a similar manner. Marks of haste are, however, evident. In one pit the first altar was lying at the bottom with its face downwards, but two others were lying diagonally across it, as if hurriedly thrown in. In some instances portions of the capitals have been broken off the altars, apparently by the force with which they have been projected into their places—the displaced fragments lying beside them.

The question now arises, How came these altars to be here? The first thought which suggests itself to most minds is, Has this been the site of a temple, and are these the altars which were placed within it? A number of circumstances oblige us to abandon this theory. No traces of foundations have been found upon the spot. Roman building stones

have been thrown into the pits, but they have probably been brought from the neighbouring suburban buildings which extended to the north of the station. Had there been a substantial building on this spot, traces of mortar would have been found, but there are none. Had this been a temple, the altars would have been found upon the surface, though covered with a mass of superincumbent ruin, instead of being buried in the way that has been described. And lastly, no one temple would have contained so many as twelve altars to one god: twelve of the altars which we have before us being dedicated to Jupiter. From this circumstance it seems pretty plain that we have here the gatherings of several temples.

These altars have been brought from the camp or temples in its immediate vicinity. Have they, then, been placed here by friends or by foes? Every student of Roman antiquities must at some time or other have experienced an earnest desire to trace in existing remains some evidences of the transference from heathenism to Christianity which took place during the period of the Roman occupation of Britain; and some may be disposed to say that in this most remarkable find we have the wished-for proof. According to this view the garrison have in a body embraced the worship of the one living and true God, and in a fit of righteous indignation have buried out of sight the altars dedicated to their false gods. The care with which the altars have been deposited in the pits and covered up is fatal to this theory. Friends, not foes, to the prevailing idolatry, have placed them where they were found. Had religious enthusiasm led to their removal from the camp, they would have been defaced and broken into pieces, and the fragments would have been thrown over the cliff. The only circumstance giving countenance to this view is the fact that one of the altars to Jupiter is worn on the face as if it had been used as a common whetstone. I do not know that much importance is to be attached to this matter, for probably the reverence which the Romans entertained for their deities was of a very superficial character.

On the supposition, then, that these altars were placed in the pits where they were found with a view to their preservation and that they have been deposited in them towards the latter part of the second century, what was the occasion which led to the adoption of this course? Whenever excavations are made, in the camps or castles of the Roman Wall, proofs are obtained that the garrison manning it have on more than one occasion had to submit to defeat and disaster. Two, if not three, lairs of wood ashes and superincumbent rubbish are uniformly met with. One of these seasons of calamity occurred about A.D. 184. Xiphiline, in his abridgment of Dion Cassius, says, "Commodus was engaged in

several wars with the barbarians. The *Britannic* war was the greatest of these,—for some of the nations within that island, having passed over the Wall which divided them from the Roman stations, and besides killing a certain commander with his soldiers, having committed much other devastation, Commodus became alarmed and sent *Ulpus Marcellus* against them." The *Caledonian* onslaught thus referred to by *Dion Cassius* would not extend along the whole line of the Barrier. We have some evidence for believing that *Borcovicus*, the central camp of the line, felt its chief force. In order to repel the invasion and reconstruct the ruined works it would be necessary to concentrate the troops of the whole fortification. In order to do this the soldiers would for a time be withdrawn from those camps which were least threatened with danger. Maryport may have been temporarily deserted on this occasion and the cohort then in garrison may have barely had time to secure the altars dedicated to their gods against insult and injury. On the repression of the rebellion this cohort may have been placed in some other garrison and never returned to recover their altars. Such is the best explanation I can furnish of the circumstances in which these altars have been found. This view is in harmony with the early date of the altars, and the care, yet haste, with which they have been deposited in the ground. I am indebted for the suggestion of it to our Vice-President Mr. Clayton, who has had more experience in the work of Roman excavation than any other individual in the North of England.

But it is time now to introduce the inscriptions to your notice, and this I will do in the order in which the altars were discovered.

(1)	I'O'M'	Iovi optimo maximo
	L'CAMMI	Lucius Cammi-
	VS'MAXI[M]	us Maxim-
	VS'PRAEFEC	us præfec-
	TVS COH	tus cohortis
	I'HISPANO'	primæ Hispanorum
	EQ'V'S'L'L'M'	equitatæ votum solvit lætus libens
		merito.

To Jupiter, best and greatest, Lucius Cammius Maximus, prefect of the first cohort of Spaniards, furnished with cavalry, joyfully and willingly erects this altar to one worthy of it.

(2)	I'O'M'	Iovi optimo maximo
	- - - -	- - - -
	- - - -	- - - -
	- - - -	- - - -
	MAEN	Mænius [Agrippa]
	TRIBV	tribunus

To Jupiter, the best and greatest, - - - - Mænius Agrippa, a tribune, dedicates this.

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| (3) | I'O'M'
CAMMI
[V]S MAXI
MVS PRÆ
COH'I'HIS'
EQ'ET'TB.XVIII
COHOR'VOLV'
V'S'L'M' | Iovi optimo maximo
Cammi-
us Maxi-
mus præfectus
cohortis primæ Hispanorum
equitatæ et tribunus
cohortis duodevicesimæ Voluntariorum
votum solvit libens merito. |
|-----|--|---|

To Jupiter, best and greatest, Cammius Maximus, prefect of the first cohort of Spaniards, having a due proportion of cavalry, and tribune of the eighteenth cohort of Volunteers, willingly dedicates this altar, in discharge of a vow to one who is worthy.

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| (4) | MARTI MILITARI
COH' I' BÆTASIO
RVM' C' R'
CVI' PRAEEST V[L]
PIVS TITIANV[S]
PRAEF' V' S' L' L' M' | Marti militari
cohors prima Bætasio-
rum civium Romanorum
cui præest Ul-
pius Titianus
præfectus votum solvit læta libens
merito. |
|-----|--|---|

To Mars, the warlike, the first cohort of Bætasians, Roman citizens, commanded by Ulpius Titianus, a perfect, erects this altar in discharge of a vow, gladly, willingly, and to one deserving of it.

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| (5) | I'O'M'
COH' I' HISP'
EQ' CVI' PRAEEST
L' ANTISTIVS L' F'
QVIRINA LVPPVS
VERIANVS PRAE'
DOMV' SIC
CA EX AFRICA | Iovi optimo maximo
cohors prima Hispanorum
equitata cui præest
Lucius Antistius Lucii filius
Quirina (tribu) Lupus
Verianus præfectus
domu Sic-
ca ex Africa. |
|-----|--|--|

[This altar is dedicated] to Jupiter, the best and greatest, by the first cohort of Spaniards, having a due proportion of cavalry, commanded by Lucius Antistius Verianus, the son of Lucius, of the Tribe Quirina, a perfect, a native of Sicca, in Africa.

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (6) | I'O'M'
ET NVM'
AVG' COH'
I. HISPA'
POS' | Iovi optimo maximo
et numinibus
Augusti cohors
prima Hispanorum
posuit. |
|-----|---|---|

To Jupiter, best and greatest, and the divine influences of the Emperor, the first cohort of Spaniards erects this altar.

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| (7) | I'O'M'
C' CABAL'
PRISCVS
TRIB' | Iovi optimo maximo
Caius Caballus
Priscus
tribunus. |
|-----|---|--|

To Jupiter, the best and greatest, Caius Caballus Priscus, a tribune, [erects this altar.]

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (8) | I'O'M'
ET' NVM' AVG'
MAE' AGRIP
PA' TRIBV'
[P]OS' | Iovi optimo maximo
et numinibus Augusti
Mænius Agrip-
pa tribunus
posuit. |
|-----|---|---|

To Jupiter, best and greatest, and to the divine influences of the Emperor, Mænius Agrippa has erected this.

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| (9) | IOVI OP' M'
COH' I
HISPA'
CVI PRAE'
HELSTRI
VS NOVEL
LVS PRÆ
FECT | Iovi optimo maximo
cohors prima
Hispanorum
cui præest
Helstri-
us Novel-
lus præ
fectus. |
|-----|--|---|

To Jupiter, the best and greatest, the first cohort of Spaniards, commanded by Helstrius Novellus, prefect, dedicates this.

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (10) | I'O'M'
COH' I' DA
LMATAR' CVI
PRAEEST L' CÆ
CILIVS VEGE
TVS PRAEFEC
V' S' L' M' | Iovi optimo maximo
cohors prima Dal-
matarum cui
præest Lucius Cæ-
cilius Vege-
tus præfectus
votum solvit libens merito. |
|------|---|---|

To Jupiter, best and greatest, the first cohort of Dalmatians, commanded by Lucius Cæcilius Vegetus, prefect, dedicates this altar in discharge of a vow, willingly and to one deserving of it.

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (11) | VICTORIÆ' AVG'
COH' I' BAETA
SIORVM' C' R'
CVI PRAEEST
T' ATTIVS TVTOR
PRAEFEC
V' S' L' L' M' | Victoriæ augustæ
cohors prima Bæta-
siorum civium Romanorum
cui præest
Titus Attius Tutor
præfectus
votum solvit læta libens merito. |
|------|---|--|

To imperial Victory, the first cohort of Bætasians, Roman citizens, commanded by Titus Attius Tutor, rears this altar in discharge of a vow, gladly, willingly, and to one deserving of it.

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (12) | I'O'M'
COH' I' BAETA
SIORVM
C' R' CVI PRAE
EST T' ATTIVS
TVTOR PRAEF
V' S' L' L' M' | Iovi optimo maximo
cohors prima Bæta
siorum
civium Romanorum cui præ-
est Titus Attius
Tutor præfectus
votum solvit læta libens merito. |
|------|---|---|

To Jupiter, best and greatest, the first cohort of Bætasians, possessed of the Roman citizenship, and having for their prefect Titus Attius Tutor, erects this altar, gladly, willingly, and to a most deserving object.

- (13) No. 13 is an elegantly formed altar, about two feet high, but it is without any inscription.

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (14) | I'O'M'
COH'I
HISPANO
CVI PRAE
EST C' CAB
PRISCVS
TRIB' | Iovi optimo maximo
cohors prima
Hispanorum
cui præ-
est Caius Caballus
Priscus
tribunus. |
|------|--|--|

To Jupiter, best and greatest, the first cohort of Spaniards commanded by Caius Caballus Priscus, tribune.

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (15) | IOVI OP' M'
ET NVM'AVG'
M'MAE'AGRIP'
TRIBVN
VS
POS' | Iovi optimo maximo
et numinibus Augusti
Marcus Mænius Agrippa
tribun-
us
posuit. |
|------|--|---|

To Jupiter, best and greatest, and the divine influences of the Emperor Marcus Mænius Agrippa, a tribune erected this.

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (16) | VICTORIAE AVG'
COH'I'BAETASIOR'
C'R'
CVI PRAEEST
VLPIVS TITIA
NVS PRAEFEC
TVS
V' S' L' L' M' | Victoriæ augustæ
cohors prima Bætasiorum
civium Romanorum
cui præest
Ulpius Titia-
nus prefec-
tus
votum solvit læta libens merito. |
|------|---|--|

To imperial Victory the first cohort of Bætasians, Roman citizens, commanded by Ulpius Titianus, a prefect, dedicates this altar, in discharge of a vow, gladly, willingly, and to one worthy of it.

(17)

HELSTRI
VS NOVEL
LVS PRAE
FECTVS
NVMINI
VOLCAN
S (?)

Helstrius
Novellus
Praefectus
Numini
Volcani
Solvit

Helstrius Novellus the prefect [erects this altar in discharge of a vow] to the deity of Vulcan.

If will be quite impossible for me in the compass of a single paper to discuss the peculiar features of all these altars. A few general remarks must suffice. Before proceeding with these I may state that the work of deciphering a Roman inscription is not the haphazard thing which some suppose. In expanding the contractions which frequently occur, the antiquary does not draw upon his imagination, but proceeds upon certain well established precedents and rules. It occurred to me that the discovery, all at once, of sixteen¹ inscriptions which had not been scanned by the eye of man for at least as many centuries, afforded an excellent opportunity of proving to those unacquainted with the subject, the certainty of the fact which I have now mentioned. I accordingly sent copies of the inscriptions as they stand upon the stones to three gentlemen: Professor Henzen in Rome, Dr. Emil Hübner, of the University of Berlin, and Dr. McCaul, Principal of University College Toronto, Canada,—and requested them to give me their views as to the expansion of them. They have all kindly acceded to my invitation, and I may say that their reading of the inscriptions is precisely the same as my own. The only point of divergence is this:—one gentleman reads the L.L. which occurs in the last line of some of the inscriptions *libens libenter*; the rest of us make it *lætus libens*; the meaning in both cases is, however, virtually the same. It is true that these inscriptions present no unusual difficulty. Should however the next sixteen altars which Mr. Humphrey Senhouse turns up, present peculiarities ever so great, I pledge myself to submit my own reading to a test similar to the present, whatever the result may be.

I will now indulge in some random remarks upon these altars. The form of them is for the most part tasteful, and the cutting of them good. As they must have been the work of soldiers, not of professional sculptors, we must suppose that even the auxiliaries of the Roman army possessed an unusual amount of artistic taste and skill.

These altars have been erected by different cohorts: eleven are by the first cohort of Spaniards, or its officers; four by the first cohort of

¹ The seventeenth has been found since.

Bætasians, a Belgic tribe; and one by the first cohort of Dalmatians, a people from the shores of the Adriatic. We have a similar variety in the altars previously discovered here, and which are in the portico of Netherhall. We hence learn that it was the policy of Rome to use in foreign parts the martial tendencies of a conquered country. They also avoid massing together in one district large bodies of troops belonging to the same nation. In this way conspiracy was avoided. If England had attentively studied the tactics of Rome all the blood and treasure which was expended in India during the Sepoy rebellion might have been saved. From inscriptions found in Northern Turkey we know that some cohorts of Britons were in Roman times located in that distant province. If I am right in supposing that all the altars before us belong to the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, the diversity of troops named on them shows that a quicker exchange took place here at that time than was usual. On some of the stations of the Wall we have evidence to show that the same cohort was in garrison for centuries in succession. The period of these two reigns was one of peculiar activity in Britan. There was the building of the wall of Hadrian, and afterwards that of Antoninus. When the Romans first established themselves in the north of England, the natives would be more restless and give more trouble than afterwards. There would be the greater need, therefore, for concentrating the Roman troops, at times in places threatened with attack; and consequently more frequent removals.

One thing is manifest from these altars, and that is, that the auxiliary troops of Rome, though all foreigners, were commanded by Roman officers. We have on these altars the names of eight commanders—Lucius Cammius Maximus, Marcus Mænius Agrippa, Ulpus Titianus, Lucius Antistius Lupus Verianus, Caius Caballus Priscus, Helstrius Novellus, Lucius Cæcilius Vegetus and Titus Attius Tutor. These are all Roman names; and Roman names, with the exception of the *prænomen* or first name, were given in accordance with strict rule—the names indicating the *gens*, the tribe, the family to which the individual belonged. One of the commanders, named Antistius Lupus, tells us that he was born in Africa. This circumstance did not interfere with his citizenship. Paul was a Roman, though he was born in Asia Minor.

These altars disclose to us two peculiarities. For the first time we meet on a British inscription with the title of a tribune of Volunteers. There are several examples of it in foreign inscriptions. Its appearance at the present day is perhaps opportune, as it has a tendency to stimulate and encourage our citizen soldiers. For the first time, too, in Britain, we meet with a dedication to the blacksmith's god, Vulcan.

This, too, is strangely opportune, as Maryport is becoming, I understand, a great iron producing place.

On one important point these altars fail to give us the information we have long desired, that is, what was the Roman name of the camp of Maryport. A document, called the *Notitia*, written in the fifth century, has come down to our time, which gives us the names of the Roman stations, and the garrisons which were in them. By means of this, and the inscriptions which are found in any particular camp, we can often obtain its ancient name. This method fails in the instance before us.

According to the *Notitia*, the first cohort of Spaniards (of which we have so many records in these altars) was in garrison at *Axelodunum*. Now, *Axelodunum* cannot be Maryport, it must from its order of sequence in the *Notitia* be situated on the Wall itself, and east of Bowness. The cohorts of Bætasians and Dalmatians were not in this part of the country at all when the *Notitia* was compiled.

Horsley identifies Maryport with the *Virosidum* of the *Notitia*, where the sixth cohort of the Nervii was in garrison. Unfortunately, not a single inscription has ever been found at Maryport mentioning this body of troops. We must, therefore, wait a little while longer before we can attain to certainty upon this point. Let us hope that next year's ploughing may be as successful as this, and that amongst other things it may supply us with this piece of intelligence.

I began with a quotation from Camden, and I will end with one. That eminent antiquary who, with his friend Sir Robert Cotton, "of an affectionate love to illustrate our native countrey, made a survey of these coasts, in the yeere of our redemption, 1599, not without sweet food and contentment of our minds," goes on to say;—"And I cannot chuse but with thankful heart remember that very good and worthy gentleman (I. Sinhouse) not only in this regard that he gave right courteous and friendly entertainment, but also for that being himself well learned, he is a lover of ancient literature, and most diligently preserveth these inscriptions, which by others that are unskilfull and unlettered be straight waies defaced, broken, and converted to other uses, to the exceeding great prejudice and detriment of antiquity." I need not say how peculiarly applicable these words are to the Netherhall family of the present day; and I doubt not that the result of their wise and patriotic example will so influence their children and their children's children that should the present state of mundane affairs continue so long, they will be as applicable three centuries hence as they are now.

DURHAM AND SADBERGE.

THE EARLY CHRONICLES.

UP to the death of Edwin, our principal authorities have been of the most scanty character, both in number and in detail. The difficulties of the student are increased by the absence of a proper edition of the work known as that of Nennius. Of this venerable production, the differing MSS. ought to be printed in parallel columns. On Mr. Hodgson Hinde's death, his representatives found among his papers a number of copies of "The Fountains of British History explored. London, published by J. B. and J. G. Nichols. MDCCCLII." This little book consists of a minute consideration of the work in question, "from a conviction that, if that authority is altogether discarded, the early Anglo-Saxon annals will present a blank very pleasant to theorists and system-mongers, but little conducive to the information of the ordinary enquirer." Possibly there may be some slip in the edition which led to its withdrawal from publicity, but whether this be so or no, it is a useful dissection and translation of the History of the Britons. The critical remarks are worthy of Mr. Hinde's acumen, and they should be read before the preceding chapter of Durham and Sadberge.

It has been suggested that it would be convenient to print in these pages a revised summary of the relative dates and qualities of the principal chronicles on which the annals of Durham, for the times before the existence of cotemporary records, depend. Some of these have to a certain extent already been referred to.

When written history adds its light to the broken proofs afforded by earthworks and stones, our Venerable Bede takes foremost rank. His celebrated Ecclesiastical History was revised by him in about 732. "The schools of Yorks (says Stubbs) were the result of the general learned movement originated by Bede, and the schools of York produced Alcuin, in his turn the light of the Western world." The handwriting of our earliest copy of the Saxon Chronicles, which may be regarded as more southern productions, ends more than a century and

a half later, in the time of King Alfred, its probable originator. For the period preceding Bede, as to general rather than ecclesiastical history, the most important adjuncts to his great work (which, after all, is our chief guide, even for civil affairs) are his own Six Ages; the Chronological Recapitulation attached to his history; the Short Northumbrian Chronology appended to the earliest known manuscript of the same, (which is brought down to 737, and the varying computations of the copyists or editors of which do not reach below 748); and the Genealogies attached to the History of the Britons which passes by the name of Nennius, or rather the northern version of the history itself as it appears in the earliest manuscripts. There is, it is true, evidence for an edition of the middle of the 7th century, but we cannot say to what it extended, and there is a sequence of statements in our early text which it is difficult to sever from the Genealogies. They, as distinguished from general additions to them in the 10th century, continue in their original condition as to Northumbria, ending, like the Short Chronology, in 737 or thereabouts. Of authority equal to them, probably, are some at least of the poems which pass by the name of the Celtic bards mentioned in them. These have lately been admirably edited by Skene. There are, too, for ecclesiastical history, a few tracts of authority equal to Bede's. There is the Life of St. Wilfrid by Eddi (709-720) of which we require a new edition. Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert in prose is preceded by that in verse, and by an anonymous life of the Saint in prose which gives many interesting topographical details wanting in Bede's adaptation. Again, the great historian's Lives of the Abbots of Jarrow and Wearmouth were founded upon an earlier production by one of the brethren. The celebrated Lindisfarne text of the Gospels, a most valuable evidence for the history of art, was certainly written by Bishop Eadfrid, and it is concluded that his task was finished before his appointment to the see in 698.

To the writings we have already enumerated, it is again submitted, all subsequent statements, especially if contradictory, must give way.

After the time of Bede, the materials for north country history, as for that of the nation at large, are much dovetailed. Their value doubtless greatly depends, as in the previous period, upon the order of the years of their conclusion or known composition, though, as we shall see, some early performances were not used in all later writings, and for the traces of them we are indebted to later works still.

The first and most important of the chronicles after Bede is a Northumbrian one, embedded in that ascribed to Symeon, and certainly used by him in composing his History of the Church of Durham. From 732 to 766 it mostly coincides with the recapitulation of Bede's works,

which in some MSS. ends with 735, in others with 766. From 766 to 803 it is of the same character, a series of notes, written, apparently, while the events narrated were fresh in the memory. At present it terminates abruptly in 803, but Symeon himself, judging from internal evidence in his Durham History, seems to have had a continuation to 867 or a little after. This continuation was not forthcoming for Houeden between 1132 and 1161. Yet Wendover, a later writer, must have had something of the sort before him, for among other Northumbrian matters found nowhere else, he mentions the usurpation of Redulf in 844; and the truth of his unsupported testimony was amply vindicated by the existence of the usurper's coins in the Hexham find.

The chronicle is known as *Historia de Gestis Regum Anglorum et Dacorum*, or briefly as the History of the Kings. Its early character, independently of the period at which it concludes, appears by the writer describing the church of Hexham as existing in its pristine splendour. That church was defaced in 875.

The famous Book of Life, containing the names of the benefactors of the churches of Lindisfarne, Chester, and Durham, is supposed to have been commenced in its gold and silver letters in the 9th century. Many important documents, reaching over the following centuries, are found in it; and a new and careful edition, arranged in order of handwriting rather than that of folios, and with an index, would be a boon. If such an arrangement were preceded by a facsimile of the MS., it would still more command the gratitude of North Country folks, who yearn for some systematic publication of such chronicles, calendars, and records, as are of real value.

The collection of Rochester evidences by Bishop Ernulf of that city, called *Textus Roffensis*, contains genealogies of the Saxon kings, originally compiled, Mr. Haigh believes, not later than in the beginning of the 9th century, as Coenwulf of Mercia (796-818) is the last whose descent is traced, and Beornwulf, his second successor (821-823) the last who is named.

Our earliest codex of the Saxon chronicle, in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 173, is in one hand until 891. But this original version is constantly interpolated by additions, apparently of the 12th century, which are chiefly on erasures of the original text. Both Asser's Life of Alfred and Ethelwerd's Chronicle, up to 893, resemble some codex very similar to this Cambridge one.

With the visit to Durham of King Edmund, who died in 948, ends the Cambridge MS. of the History touching St. Cuthbert, or rather relating to the possessions of his church (printed by Mr. Hinde). Symeon appears to allude to it as the ancient cartulary of the church, and freely

uses both it and a most valuable addition to the time of Canute, who died 1036, which appears in the Oxford MS. of this our highest authority for the rise of the possessions of the Church of Durham. In the introduction to the *Monumenta Historica* published by Government is the singular observation that the history under notice "is of little value, as the facts appear more fully *elsewhere*." Elsewhere must, we may presume, mean Symeon's *Durham History*, but that worthy was of quite a different mind, for he omits particulars which he says "it is unnecessary to detail, as they are written elsewhere." His "elsewhere" is the earlier history in question, and there the particulars are found. As the two MSS. are severed and under different heads in the useful Government Catalogue of Materials for British History, it is plain that they were not understood.

Our second codex of the Saxon Chronicle, Cottonian MS. Tiberius A, VI., extends to 977 in one hand, apparently of the latter part of the 10th century. The MS. appears to be Mercian.

The third codex of the chronicle has been published by Wheloc from the now injured Cottonian MS., Otho, B. ix. 2, which extends to 1031, in a hand apparently of the 11th century. In Thorpe's edition the MS. and Wheloc's print are made to supplement and collate with the other versions by the references G. and W.

Ethelwerd's chronicle, already mentioned, terminates in 975, and was composed before 1011. The author or the compiler was a member of the royal family of Wessex.

A fourth codex of the Saxon Chronicle is the Cottonian MS., Tiberius B. iv., in one hand to 1016. It has Mercian and Northumbrian additions. After the middle of the 10th century, it has, like the fifth codex, noticed below, peculiarities relating to Northumbria. During the 8th and 9th centuries, that fifth codex, together with the first in its present state, and also the second, are frequently a year before the fourth codex in the chronology. But the latter agrees with the first codex before it was altered, and also with the Northern Chronicles.

A most singular document about the body of St. Cuthbert and other documents interesting to us are to be found in the *Diplomatarium* published by Thorpe, which should always accompany Kemble's great collection of Saxon charters.

The fifth codex of the Saxon Chronicle, Cottonian MS., Tiberius, B. i., of the class of the second one, is apparently in the same hand to 1046. And a sixth one, Cottonian MS., Domitian, A. VIII. 2, runs in nearly one hand, apparently of the 12th century, until 1056, and has peculiar Kentish additions.

In the reign of Edward the Confessor, who is mentioned, the chronicle

ascribed to Symeon, which we left at 803, was advanced a stage by an addition, which ended in 957. This part is chiefly derived from Asser, the Saxon Chronicle, and the History of St. Cuthbert. Like the first portion of the History of the Kings, it seems to have been known to and used by Symeon. A valuable narrative of a siege of Durham in the time of Bishop Aldhune, who first settled there, and of the descent of various manors of the see which he settled upon his daughter, was also prior to Symeon, but he has not made as much use of it as one might have expected. Possibly the erroneous date given to the siege (969, supposed by Hinde to be 999 and by Robertson and Freeman to be 1006,) perplexed him, or he may have been shocked at the doings of the Bishop and his daughter and at the facilities for divorce in their time.

William of Poitou (1036)-1067), "more studious of his patron's glory than of truth," must be read with caution.

We now reach Symeon himself. He stands on the roll of Durham monks as No. 38. The number of monks who emigrated from Jarrow to Durham in 1083 was 23, "to which it is likely enough that the 37 enrolled previous to Symeon had been reduced by deaths and removals during an interval of nine or ten years." "Symeon appears to have been resident in Durham, perhaps as a member of the choir, before the removal of the monastery from Jarrow, as he speaks from his own recollection of the performance of the choral service in the Cathedral by the secular clergy during the episcopate of Bishop Walcher; and it is probable from his position on the monastic roll that he joined the fraternity shortly after their transference to that city." He was present at the exhumation of St. Cuthbert in 1104, and his account of the Archbishops of York is dedicated to Dean Hugh, who was holding office in 1130 and 1133. His great work, however, on the Church of Durham ends in 1096. The alterations in it will be exemplified under the proper dates.

After the work of Symeon on the Durham Church some interpolations were made in the old History of the Kings about the saints of Hexham for the express purpose, as it appears, of contradicting the Durham writer. Hinde considers that the History of the Translations of St. Cuthbert was in Symeon's hands when he wrote the History of the Church, but that the chapters of the Lawson and other MSS. touching St. Cuthbert which are not incorporated by Symeon in his History of the Church of Durham were after his time.

There was formerly in the chancery of Durham a book professing to contain charters of kings and privileges granted to the Bishops of Durham, called the *Red Book*. During the civil troubles, on production of a letter from Bishop Morton, then in London, it was, with other muniments, delivered by his auditor to one Harrison, and is now only known

by certain extracts picked up somewhere by Bishop Cosin, and printed by the Surtees Society. According to them, it ended in the time of Bishop William I. (de St. Carilepho) before 1096. Charters of that bishop, of William the Conqueror, and of Archbishop Thomas of York, touching the foundation of Durham monastery were in it. What now exist as such are spurious documents, more than once altered. Without seeing the *Red Book* itself we cannot be certain, but the probabilities are, that, though it might end with Bp. William I., it was not of his time. It modifies and amplifies the old history touching St. Cuthbert to suit later ideas, and there are agreements with the portion of the chronicle next to be noticed in certain doubtful incidents wherein it differs from Symeon. A similar sort of book, continued to the reign of Henry IV., lay on the high altar at Durham, and is now only known to us by Prior Wessington's extracts from it in Henry VI.'s reign (also printed by the Surtees Society), and an abstract of its contents by Leland. Something of the character of both may doubtless be seen in the narrative printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon* under the head of Durham.

A peculiar portion of the chronicle which passes under the name of Symeon, and probably affected, rather than was derived from, the Durham MSS. just mentioned, commences with a recapitulation of the former part of the chronicle from 848 to 957, and thence it is continued to 1117. It is principally a mere copy of the chronicles, or rather interpolation of Marian's works, by Florence of Worcester, who ended them in that year, and died 1118. Where not so copied, it consists itself of interpolations by an unknown writer, which are sometimes at direct variance with Symeon's *History of the Church of Durham*, which is nevertheless used in this continuation. Stubbs considers that there are traces of independent study of the earlier authorities whom Florence had used.

The seventh codex of the *Saxon Chronicle*, in the Bodleian Library, Land. 636, is in the same hand to 1122. From 653 it contains several notices of Peterborough Monastery, to which it seems to have belonged.

William of Malmesbury's noble work ends in 1125. "In many instances it is difficult to name his authorities, as several of them appear to be now lost."

A further continuation of the chronicles ascribed to Symeon from 1117 to 1129 is of considerable value, and this portion, and this portion only, may possibly be by Symeon himself. It does not seem to have been known to an epitomist of 1132 who closes his abbreviation with 1119. Nor was it known to the Durham compilers of the *History of the Angles or Saxons* up to 1148. The MS. of the collection of

chronicles is fixed to a date between 1161 and 1175. John of Hexham had the continuation of 1129, as he commences his own chronicle in 1130.

Of the same reign (Hen. I.) is the *Libellus* touching the Saxons (printed for the first time by Hinde in the volume of Symeon's Collectanea edited by him for the Surtees Society), in which some of the statements which we previously had not earlier than in the chronicles of Wendover and Wallingford are first seen. It is observable that Roger de Houeden in his chronicles in which we "have the full harvest of the labours of the Northumbrian historians," stands by the earlier writers in omitting these statements.

Ordericus Vitalis dates in 1140; the continuation of Malmsbury, "altogether original," called *Historiæ Novellæ*, in 1142. The first edition of Henry of Huntingdon's history (which eventually ended in 1154) ended in 1148. The copy of the Saxon chronicle used by him was (says Hardy) probably of the scantier class, in some respects resembling the Cottonian MS. Tib. A. vi. or Tib. B. i., but continued to a later period than either of those copies.

After the above works, a compilation was made before 1161, combining (with a few additions principally relating to Durham), the chronicles ascribed to Symeon, and the first edition of Henry of Huntingdon's work. It is entitled the History of the Angles or Saxons since Venerable Bede's death. In the treatment by its writer of the works nominally Symeon's, the extracts from Malmsbury are omitted, and, what is of more importance, the continuation of the chronicles is not used. This looks as if the continuator were not the compiler of the work under notice. To this work public attention has especially been drawn by Stubbs in his valuable edition of Houeden's chronicles.

The History since Bede, with a few additions (including notices of William the Conqueror's confirmation of Durham privileges and his gift of Hemmingburgh, and a copy of the charter ascribed to Archbishop Thomas,) constitute the chronicles of Roger de Houeden to 1148. From 1148 to 1169, Houeden uses to some extent another chronicle of the Durham school, written up to the latter year, and now composing part of the Chronicle of Melrose. The notices in 1148-69 not taken directly by Houeden from the Chronicle of Melrose, nor connected closely with the Becket contest, are very few. Stubbs thinks they are of questionable authority. "The death of Eustace of Boulogne is antedated five years." "Of the striking of money by Henry in 1149 called *the Duke's money*, and of the appointment of Henry as justiciar to Stephen in 1153, it is impossible to say that they are false, but equally impossible to say that that they are in the least degree probable." Nevertheless the

striking of coins by Duke Henry would well explain a most remarkable class of silver pennies, usually given to Henry I., but differing most materially from his other pieces and from all others of the English series. From 1170 to 1192 Houeden receives and annotates the work known as the chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough. From 1192 to 1201 we have his own pen and experience as a cotemporary of the events he relates. "The other chroniclers of the period are as ignorant of Houeden as he is of them."

Such, with the addition of the three short works usually printed at the end of Symeon's History of the Church of Durham, are the chief chronicles which must be consulted for the story of the land between the waters of Tyne and Tees to the time of the "jolly bishop" Pusat, when we arrive at the writings of Reginald, Boldon Buke, the Three Historians of Durham, and divers cotemporary proofs. The principal muniments of the episcopate of Durham are, however, lost, having been made way with before the time of Edward III. for reasons which will be discussed in due time.

W. HYLTON DYER L.

S. MARY THE VIRGIN'S HOSPITAL, NEWCASTLE.

Among the depositions in the York Ecclesiastical Court I have found the following North Country case :—

1567. Office against John Reymes, master¹ of the Westspittle hospital, Newcastle-on-Tyne. He is not a priest, is non-resident, and allows the buildings to go into decay; he is supposed to be absent because he does not approve of the religion. The house is let to Lady Anne Hilton for 4*l.* per annum.

A formal document is put in by Raymes, proceeding from the Superior of the University of Louvaine, saying that Raymes is there, and he makes John Swinburn of Chopwell, esq., Robert Rames of Shortflat, esq. his brother, and John Swinburne of Wylam, gen., his attornies to act and answer for him.

J. RAINE.

¹ The reader interested in the Swinburnes and Raymes's, and the intimate connection between the families, and between them and the hospital, must consult Brand, i. 79 et seq., and Hodgson's Nd., ii. i. 368.

LOCAL MUNIMENTS.

EXHIBITED BY SIR W. C. TREVELYAN, BART.

ILDERTON TITHES.—20 May, 1629, 5 Car. Francis Morice of Wansted, co. Essex, Esq., and Francis Phelips of London, Esq., for 34 $\frac{1}{2}$., convey to Thomas Fotherley of Rickmersworth, co. Hartford, esq., in fee, to be holden of the king as of his manor of East Greenwich, in common socage, the tithes of wool and lambs arising in the vill, fields, parish or hamlet of Ilderton, co. Nd., now or late in the tenure or occupation of Thomas Orde, gent., by the particular thereof of the yearly rent or value of 26s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$., parcel of the possessions of the late monastery of Kirkeham, co. Ebor., as fully as expressed in the grant to the vendors by letters patent of 22 Sep. 11 Jac. under as well his great seal of England as the seal of his county palatine of Lancaster and the seal of his duchy of Lancaster. Phelips seals with some bird as a device. Enrolled in Chancery.

ALNWICK. COINS IN SEALS.—12 May, 1655. Hugh Gallon of Alnwick, co. Nd., yeoman, grants, bargains, and sells to Robert Pearett of Alnwick, yeoman, in fee, an outrent or white rent of 5s. issuing out of a burgage or tenement in a street there called Clayport, without the Tower, late Richard Watson's, bounding between the burgage in the occupation of Elizabeth Toottup on the W., the burgage of Thomas Taylor on the E., Howling Close on the N., and the High Street on the S., and now in the occupation of the said Robert Pearett or his assigns. "Signed Sealed and Delivered with one single Two-pence lawfull money of England put into the seale in the token of the possession livery and seizen of the out rent or white rent of five shillings by yeare within named in presence of these witnesses, — Thomas Palliser—Francis A Heareot his marke—Robert Anderson—Antho Adston." The coin enclosed is a halfgroat of James I. Vide Notes and Queries, 2nd series, ii. 129, 178, and the Law Dictionaries under Quit-Rent and White-Rent.

TAPESTRY IN APPLEBY CASTLE.

In a corner of a tapestried bedroom of the residence in Appleby Castle, Westmoreland, is inserted some tapestry of unusual beauty. It possesses so much interest that, although I do not at present trace any historical connection with the north of England or with the holders of Appleby, I may be pardoned for calling attention to its existence.

The ground-work is delicately covered with wild flowers, and, all over it, is used a badge, which may be described as *the top of a royal vessel of war*. The summit of the mast is represented as erased or torn from the rest, passing through a round basket-shaped projection, which contains *five spears or arrows* with their points upwards at the dexter side of the mast, from which a streamer with two tails proceeds to the sinister. The upper tail is *gules*, the lower one *argent*. Between them and the mast the streamer is occupied by *the arms of St. George* as usual.

There are three coats of arms on the tapestry, all in the peculiar style of the latter half of the 15th century, familiar to the students of the garter plates at Windsor. The main coat is at the foot. It is *gules, four fusils ermine in fess*, with a profusion of mantling covered with *ermine* spots, and between *two bucks proper* as supporters. The crest I took to be *a lamb between two lighted candles*. The animal, I have no doubt now, is really an *ermine*. This crest arises from a *chapeau ermine*.

Above this main coat are two other shields. That on the dexter is surrounded by the garter, inscribed, *Hony soit que male y pense*, and contains the same coat *gules, four fusils ermine in fess*. That on the sinister comprises the same, impaled with *gules, three arches* (the two upper ones being conjoined) *argent*. The arrangement is a little peculiar, for, according to the pedigrees, as we shall presently see, the Knight of the Garter was son and not husband of the lady who bore the impaled coat, and he only left sisters and co-heiresses. His arms seem, therefore, to occur twice,—once with his supporters and crest as head of the paternal house, and again beside his mother's coat, with his knightly garter. She was an heiress, as we shall also see, and he would be entitled to quarter her arms on her death. Thus he might in anticipation please himself with perpetuating them, or the introduction of

his mother's shield might merely be from affection. Or, in giving the full insignia, he might be perpetuating his father. That there is a want in the lists of the Knights of the Garter of the husband of the heiress is not likely, and all doubt as to the generation to which the tapestry belongs is removed by the marine character of the badge, which, from the evidences in the sequel, will, I think, be allowed to have originated with the son of the heiress.

On referring to my Elizabethan Roll of Peers, the two coats soon revealed themselves as quartered by Bouchier Earl of Bath for Denham and Arches. The coat of the latter family, as at present, is drawn with two separate arches in chief and two conjoined in base. I have no hesitation in considering that the tapestry is more accurate, and that the original coat was simply *gules three arches argent*, the capitals perhaps, as quartered, being *or*.

The Bouchiers quartered the two coats through the marriage of Sir Fulk Bouchier with Elizabeth, eldest sister and co-heir of Sir John Dynham, K. G., the owner of the tapestry.

The pedigree of Dinaunt, Dinan, or Dynham, is not very well proved, but the descent of the manors of Bocland-Dynham, and Hertland, of which Bocland was accounted a member, seem to show that, in the general result, it is correct. *Boc*-land accounts for the two *bucks* as supporters. The summonses to Parliament of the members of this race ceased for the whole period between Edward I. and Edward IV. The family in the 12th century, was intimately connected with Brittany, whence it had sprung; and thus the *ermine*, so conspicuously given in its insignia, is explained. In the reign of Henry VI., apparently a little before 1430, Sir John Dynham married Jane daughter and co-heir of Sir Richard Arches, explaining the occurrence of the coat of the family of Arches. He died in 36 Henry VI. (1457-1458), leaving John Dynham his son and heir, aged 28.

Two years afterwards, this son commenced a series of marine services in favour of the House of York. "A book of Chroniques in Peter College Library," extracted from by Leland (Coll. i., 713), says—"Then fled the Duke of York with his second son by Wales into Ireland, and the Earls of Salisbril and the Earl of March into Devenshire, and there *one Deneham, an esquier*, gat them a ship for a 220 nobles, and thence he sailed into Garnesey, and after was received into the castle of Calays.—Denham went suddenly from Calays by the Earl of Warwike's device to Sandwich, and took the town, and therein the Lord Rivers and Lord Scales his son, and took many ships in the haven, and brought them all to Calays.—The King [Henry VI.] ordained Mountford with a garrison to keep Sandewyche. But Denham, coming from Calays thither, took

Mountefort, and carrying him to Risebank, there smit off his head." Any one of these exploits would well explain the badge on the tapestry, and it may probably, with his supporters, be assigned to the date when he became a baron. According to "Another Cronique" with which Leland proceeds (Coll. i., 716), "Edward at his coronation created . . Denham, Esquyer, Lord Deneham, and worthy, as is afore shewed." The summonses to him, however, commence in Edward's sixth year. I suspect that, although the descent of estates prove him to have descended from Oliver Dinaunt, who had been summoned by Edward I., some female co-heirship had in the meantime interfered with the ancient barony, or that the circumstances of the family had declined and rendered summonses undesirable or unacceptable. For, though some of the estates had descended, all had not.

In 9 Edw. IV. (1469-70) the marine hero had a substantial grant from that king, but only for life. On the restoration of King Edward "the Lord Denham and Syr John Fog, and other, were left in Kent to sit on judgment of the rebels, whereof were a great number punished by the purse." This was in 11 Edw. IV., and in 12 Edw. IV. (1472-3) Lord Denham was again on the brine, being retained to serve the king in his fleet at sea, with 3,580 soldiers and marines. So likewise in 15 Edw. IV. (1475-6) for four months with 3,000 men, in which year he was made a Privy Councillor, with an annuity of 100 marks. Another annuity of £100 was granted by the king to him in 18 Edw. IV. (1472-80) until £600 should be fully paid, in some recompence of large sums of money which George, Duke of Clarence, had exacted from him. In 21 Edw. 4. (1482-83) he was a married man, his wife being Elizabeth Fitzwalter. She had no issue, nor was likely to have any, as John Ratcliff (her nephew) is in that year, when she joins with her husband in founding a guild, called her heir.

Beltz supposes that Lord Dynham became Knight of the Garter before 14th May, 1487, on the attainder and degradation of Thomas, Earl of Surrey, 7th November, 1485, in the first year of Henry VII., in which year he was made Privy Councillor and Treasurer to that politic king. Denham had, on Edward IV.'s restoration, sworn to the Parliament chamber to be true to his master's son, afterwards Edward V., and he had been appointed an executor to Lord Hastings two years before his execution. It is pleasing to infer that he had been no friend to Richard III.'s seizure of the crown, and so that he readily fell in with the accession of Henry. His mother, the co-heiress of Arches, survived until 1496. By her will, dated in that year, shes desires to be buried in the Black Friars' Church of Exeter, beside her lord and husband, Sir John Dynham, knight, where their tomb was made. She mentions her

sons, Oliver and Charles Dyneham (who must have died issueless), and her daughters, who afterwards became co-heiresses of her son, Lord John Dynham, who was to have the remainder of her goods, "if he had issue of his body," a tolerably plain indication that he had none legitimate at that time. She does not mention his wife, and, as he does not give the arms of any spouse on the tapestry, I infer that Elizabeth Fitzwalter was then dead.

He makes his will on the 7th January, 1500-1, desiring to be buried at the Abbey of Hartland, in Dorsetshire, of which he was founder (i. e. representative of the original founder, who was Jeffrey Dynant, t. Hen. II.), if he should die within 100 miles thereof, otherwise in the Grey Friars', London. To Lady Elizabeth, his wife, he left all household stuff in his place at Lamehith, in Surrey, and 1690 ounces of plate. The will was not proved until 1509, but the testator's four sisters and co-heiresses had livery of his lands in 17 Hen. VII, 1501-2, an evidence that the register of burials in Grey Friars' was correct in making him die on 28th January, 1501. The entry runs thus—"Item ad finem stallorum [quondam *inserted*] in eadem [sinistra] parte chori in archu jacet nobilis dominus, Dominus Johannes Dennham, Baro, et quondam thesaurarius Angliæ, militis cum liberata de Garterio. Qui obiit 28 die mens' Januarii, Anno Domini 1501." From the will of Jane Lady Talbot, 1505, it appears that the widow was not Elizabeth Fitzwalter, but a niece of the testatrix, who was daughter and co-heiress of John Champernon. She is mentioned thus: "Anthony Willoughby, my nephew. To my Lady Dinham, my niece, a device of gold," and doubtless Sir Harris Nicolas is correct in stating that she was daughter of Lord Willoughby and Blanch his wife, daughter and co-heiresses of John Champernon, and sister of the testatrix.

I have not the date of Elizabeth Fitzwalter's death, but the evidence seems to show that the tapestry was made between the gift of the garter in 1487 and Joane d' Arches's death in 1496, and, further, between the death of Dynham's first wife and his re-marriage, as the shield of any present wife would hardly have been wanting. With some research the date might be gained with tolerable minuteness. For us it is perhaps sufficient to know that its date is the early part of Henry's VII.'s reign, a most unusual one, certainly, as far as the north of England is concerned.

It is perhaps difficult to say whether George, son of John Lord Dynham, who died in 1487, and Philippa his daughter, who died in 1485, both commemorated by a tomb formerly in the chancel of Lambeth Church, were legitimate or illegitimate. I do not know the age of Elizabeth Fitzwalter. One thing is clear: they died issueless. The

allegation on the tomb at Radnage, co. Buckingham, I regard as utterly untrustworthy in the face of the livery to the co-heiresses of 1501-2. For the curious, I repeat it. "Here lieth William Tyer, Preacher of God's Worde, late Parson of Radnage, who took to wife Jane, daughter of George Dynham, son of Sir Thomas Dynham, Knt., son and heir of John Lord Dynham, and departed this life the 3rd day of August, A.D. 1605."

I presume that it was this or some other illegitimate line that used Lord Dynham's badge for a crest, described in the Heraldic Dictionaries thus: "*In a round top Or six spears, in the centre a pennon argent, thereon a croslett.*"

Lord Dynham's own crest, *the animal called an ermine on a chapeau ermine*, is engraved from his garter plate by Boutell, but no flames are shewn at the ends of the upright objects at its sides. Hence they look more like horns than candles. The flames are distinct at Appleby.

The tapestry was a very agreeable surprise to the participators in the recent archæological excursion into Westmoreland.

W. HYLTON DYER L.

NOTES ON TWO BRONZE SPEAR HEADS FOUND NEAR BIRTLEY, NORTH TYNE.

THE Bronze Spear-heads, now exhibited, were accidentally discovered by a mason in uncovering a new portion of the freestone quarry for building purposes near Park House, North Tynedale, about three quarters of a mile south of the village of Birtley, and on the property of Hugh Taylor, Esq., of Chipchase Castle. The quarry is situated within a beech wood of some extent, which covers the slopes and bottom of a deep glen through which runs a small tributary of the North Tyne. The stone was formerly used in the construction of the Border Counties Railway. The necessity of laying bare more of the upper portion of rock surface, led to the finding of the spear-heads. The exact site is where the ravine changes in its direction from the south-westerly to the south, and where a path must always have led down into the bottom of the glen, as the adjoining slopes on either side are more precipitous.

The spear-heads were not found lying down as if casually dropped by their possessor, but were fixed nearly upright with their points downwards in the soil, a little above the rock itself, and about eighteen

inches from the present surface. The growth of the soil from the fall of leaves and the decay of vegetable matter, has no doubt been considerable since they first occupied the position in which they were found, so that the depth of soil would not be nearly so great then. They were also found close together, separated only by a few inches; and the angle of inclination at which they were fixed corresponded very nearly with the downward slope of the ravine beneath. It may with probability be inferred from this that their ancient owner may have cast the spears—javelin-fashion—at some person or object, (according as he was engaged in fight or in the chase,) when just about to descend from the more level ground to the less accessible depths of the ravine beneath, where escape would be almost certain. The other supposition is that they were intentionally placed, that is, concealed, in that spot—for accident is apparently out of the question—by some primæval dalesman, who either never lived to return, or did not take the trouble to revisit the spot where he had left his weapons. It is not likely that he could forget the site, if he ever returned.

Mr. MacLauchlan, speaking, in his interesting “Notes on Camps in Northumberland,” (pp. 79, 80, *notes*) of the local names in the district, remarks—

“It is probable that Chipchase was originally the name of the hunting-ground extending down the North Tyne from *Comogan*, by *Chipchase Strothers*, opposite Nunwick; *Chip*, or *Kip Hill*, near the School, and ancient stone; and thence by *Barrasford*, up the *Swin-Burn* to the castle.

Swin-burn requires little explanation; but it is possible that *Bar*, a *boar*, (in *Barrasford*), in Anglo-Saxon, may commemorate the existence of that formidable animal; and even *Co-Mogan*, (which is probably *Cwm-Mochyn*, the valley of the swine, in Celtic), be a rocky ravine where the hunters found their game, a little further up the Tyne, nearly opposite to *Wark*.”

The “rocky ravine” here mentioned is the same which I have just described. For the farm-house of *Cumogan* (*Car-mogon*, in a tracing of a map in my possession, as if the *Caer* or fort of the god *Mogon* worshipped at *Habitancum* on the *Rede*,) stands on the other bank of the ravine or glen, on the east side of which the spear-heads were found, and within about 150 yards in a direct line from the exact spot.

The dimensions of the two ancient weapons are as follows—One is $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. across the widest part, length $7\frac{3}{4}$ in., and the diameter of the socket part $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. When the young ash-tree or other suitable shaft was inserted, it was secured by a rivet passing through two holes placed opposite to each other in the bronze socket.—The other spear-head is 7 in. in length, 2 in. in the greatest breadth, with the socket $\frac{7}{8}$ in. in

diameter, the shaft in this case being, however, secured apparently without any perforation in the metal.¹ When found no trace was observed of the wooden shaft in either weapon, which I thought might have been noticeable to some slight extent, judging from the peculiar position in which they were found.

As to their approximate date, the Rev. Wm. Greenwell, of Durham, (one of our highest authorities in the North of England, to whom I sent a sketch—full-size) coincides in my opinion that they are *British*, or pre-Roman spear-heads, of the ordinary type, such as the late Mr. George Tate has figured in his “History of Alnwick,” Vol. I., Plate II., fig. 5; and that they do not belong to any later race. It will be interesting to compare them with other similar weapons in our Museum. Though unfortunately rather scraped before coming into my possession (in order to find out of what metal they were composed), they are still in fair preservation—especially considering that no funereal cist has conserved them from the weather, and that an interval of perhaps 2000 years has elapsed since some pre-historic warrior, or hunter of the bronze age, in North Tynedale, may have hurled them against his foeman or the object of his chase.

G. ROME HALL.

4 Oct., 1871.

¹ On closer inspection, since writing the above, I have found that this second spear-head originally had rivet-holes also. The lower part of the socket had been fractured and broken off where the perforations had been made in the metal, so that both would be very nearly the same length; the difference in the width and form of the small wing or flange on each side being the chief distinctive mark between them. Both are of the long and narrow type described by Mr. Tate (*ibid.* p. 14) as having been discovered together with a great number of bronze swords and celts in the Old Park at Alnwick under similar circumstances to those which led to the present discovery; namely, by a mason employed in clearing away the earth, at a depth of 18 inches, from the sandstone rock, in order to obtain building stone. Other instances, where spear-heads have been found apparently placed designedly at the spot of finding, have occurred at Denwick and at Eslington, where two were discovered with swords, now in Lord Ravensworth's possession. Several were also found near Stanhope, and are described in *Arch. Æliana*, Vol. I. Mr. Greenwell informs me that he has in his possession seven out of eight spear-heads found in Heathery Burn Cave, which were “*all placed together with the points down, and stuck into the sandy bottom of the cave.*”

INSCRIPTIONS AT ABBOTSFORD AND HEXHAM.

SOMETIME ago our esteemed associate, Mr. Robert White, gave me a copy of a Roman inscription which he had noticed upon a stone inserted in the garden wall at Abbotsford. His reading of it was

VEXIL
LEG XX
PRIMIG

My curiosity was at once excited. We have many inscriptions in the North of England which mention the 20thth Legion, but in every instance that legion bears the title of *Valeria, victrix*. The 22nd Legion took the epithet of *Primigenia*, but, so far as I was then aware, no detachment of that legion had ever been in Britain; besides the inscription in question bore the numerals xx, not xxii. At length it occurred to me that possibly we might not have the whole of the inscription, but that a portion of the stone had been broken off. I therefore took a journey to Abbotsford for the special purpose of examining the record. The inscription is placed in a recess in the garden wall fronting the house; and, apparently with the view of making the stone fit the niche, the lines of the inscription are made to assume a slanting position. The inscription has been surrounded by a boldly-moulded label; but the whole of the label, together with a considerable portion of the plane of the stone itself upon the right hand side, has been broken off. There cannot be a doubt that the inscription when entire was intended to signify that a certain building had been erected by a vexillation of the 22nd Legion styled *primigenia*, primitive. As this was the only notice I had that any part of this legion had been in Britain, I felt anxious to confirm my reading of the inscription by some other authority. On communicating with Professor Hübner of Berlin, that learned antiquary directed me to No. 5456 of Henzen's continuation of the inscriptions of Orelli, where the required confirmation was to be found. The inscription given was inscribed upon a marble cippus found at Ferentinum, in Italy. It records the name, rank, and exploits of Pontius Sabinus. As, amongst other things, it mentions that he was upon the Parthian expedition, conducted *a divo Trajano* (the emperor Trajan now transferred to

the skies), the inference is almost inevitable that the inscription belongs to Trajan's successor, Hadrian. The part of the inscription relating to our present subject is the following:—" *Præpositus vexillationibus milliariis tribus expeditione Britannica legionis septimæ geminæ, octavæ Augustæ, vicesimæ secundæ primigeniæ.*" From which it appears that he joined in the Britannic expedition at the head of vexillations, each a thousand strong, belonging to the 7th, the 8th, and the 22nd Legions. Here it may be necessary to mention that a vexillation was a body of troops selected for some special purpose from different centuries, all fighting for the time being under one common *vexillum* or standard. Thus we have distinct and independent evidence of the presence of a strong detachment of the 22nd Legion in Britain about the time probably of Hadrian's visit to it. It is probable that this legion or a portion of it was in Britain in the time of Carausius; for a coin of that emperor, described by Mr. Roach Smith in the second volume of the Numismatic Chronicle, and one in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, bear upon their reverse a sea-goat (the probable badge of the legion), together with the legend LEG. IIXX (*sic*) PRIMIG.

Before leaving the Ferentine inscription, I may mention that it throws light upon another Roman relic of great interest.

In describing the boss of a shield which was found not long ago in the estuary of the Tyne, and an engraving of which was inserted in the first part of the Lapidarium, through the kindness of the Rev. William Greenwell, I was at a loss to account for the presence of a soldier of the 8th Legion in these parts. All is now plain. To use the words of Dr. McCaul, whose attention has been independently turned to this inscription:—"I have but little doubt that Junius Dubitatus, named on this boss, was a soldier of the vexillation of the 8th Legion that is mentioned in that inscription. He seems to have been drowned, probably with some comrades, the boat or vessel in which he was having been upset or swamped whilst crossing or entering the river."

No inscription mentioning the 7th Legion has been found in Britain. If the vessels conveying the vexillations of these legions struck upon Tynemouth bar, or were driven by a north-east gale upon the Herdsands, the soldiers would not all get safely to land. We may thus account for the comparative absence of inscriptions mentioning them.

The next thing to be ascertained respecting the Abbotsford inscription is, Where was it found?

The stone is of white freestone, not the red sandstone of the neighbourhood of Melrose. There is no account of it in Stuart's Caledonia Romana or Wilson's Prehistoric Annals. After a good deal of correspondence, I am unable to elicit any direct testimony as to the place from which it came.

In the same garden wall where this stone is, there are five other niches of similar character to the recess in which it is placed, which are occupied by statuettes of Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, and Venus, figures which we know were discovered in 1813, at Old Penrith. They are figured and described in Lysons' *Magna Britannia*. We may fairly suppose therefore that the stone that at present interests us came from the same locality. It must however have been discovered after the publication of the last volume of the Lysons', or it would not have escaped the attention of Dr. Bennet, the Bishop of Cloyne, who wrote that part of the work which treats of the antiquities of Cumberland.

Having mentioned these five figures of which the Lysons' give an engraving, it may not be improper, by way of digression, to state that they are emblematic of five of the days of the week. Apollo, or the Sun, represents the *dies Solis*, Sunday; Mars represents the *dies Martis*, or Tuesday; Mercury, the *dies Mercurii*, or Wednesday; Jupiter, *dies Jovis*, or Thursday; and Venus, the *dies Veneris*, or Friday. No doubt there were originally two other figures, Luna and Saturn, to represent Monday and Saturday, but which have been lost or destroyed. These seven figures would probably be placed in the sides of an octagonal building, the eighth compartment being occupied with an inscription or perhaps with a figure of Saturn or Cybele. I am indebted for these views to Mr. C. Roach Smith, who referred me in confirmation of his opinion to an article in the 2nd volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua* upon Roman Tessellated Pavements. There we have a description of a pavement found at Bramdean, in Hampshire, where a similar representation occurs. Other instances of the same arrangement are there given, at home and abroad.

One other object has recently come under my observation, to which I would call the attention of the Society. Ten days ago, Mr. Roach Smith and I visited Hexham. As my friend had not seen the Priory Church since its restoration, it was proposed that we should examine it. Whilst a messenger went for the keys we sauntered about in different directions. Mr. Roach Smith was attracted by a sort of natural sympathy to a Roman altar which stood near the entrance into the porch, and when I rejoined him he was sketching it. The stone was discovered five or six years ago, when the road was made from the Market Place to the New Town Hall, but up to that moment no one as far as we could learn had recognized it as a Roman altar, or observed that there was a single letter upon it.

The altar is a large one, being 4 feet 3 inches high, and 1 foot 8 inches broad.

Its capital and base have been cut down, so as to make them flush with the face of the altar, and thus adapting the whole slab for use as a building stone.

The inscription is nearly perfect, the only portions wanting being the single letters which indicated the prænomen or personal name of the dedicator and of his father. The letters are clearly cut and well formed. The inscription reads—

APOLLINI
 MAPONO
 · TERENTIVS
 · F OVF
 FIRMVS · SAEN
 PRAEF CASTR
 LEG VI V PF
 D D

Which may be translated—

“To Apollo Maponus—Terentius Firmus Senianus, the son of . . . , of the Oufentine tribe, prefect of the camp of the sixth legion, styled victorious, pious, and faithful, dedicates this altar.”

I am not quite certain about the expansion of the SAEN at the end of the fifth line. I have here treated it as a second cognomen: further inquiry may lead to some modification of this view. All the rest is I think certain.

Altars to Apollo are very rare in Britain. Horsley, in his *Britannia*, only records one. It was found near Musselburgh, in Scotland, and was lost before his day. Two have been found recently, and in our own district: the first near the Cawfields Mile Castle; and the other, sorely injured, at Chester-le-Street. Another very highly ornamented altar to Apollo was found several years ago at Ribchester, and is figured in the second part of the *Lapidarium*, as well as in other works. Besides these, I do not remember any other.

In the altar before us, and also in the Ribchester altar, Apollo has the epithet *Maponus*.

An altar found at Old Penrith about the middle of the last century bears the dedication DEO MAPONO.

The origin or meaning of this word MAPONVS has not been satisfactorily ascertained. In the *Cosmography of Britain*, ascribed to an anonymous writer of Ravenna, a place called *Maponis* occurs, but its situation is not pointed out. Probably the epithet on our altars may have been derived from this place. Apollo may have been specially worshipped at this place, and the expression *Apollo Maponus* may have had an origin similar to that of *Jupiter Dolichenus*.

The office of prefect of the camp (*præfectus castrorum*) mentioned in the sixth line of our inscription has not occurred before in any altar that has

come under my notice. It is met with, however, in several continental examples. For instance, in Henzen, No. 6759, we have the precisely equivalent expression, "*Præfectus castrorum legionis III Cyrenaicæ.*"

The prefect of the camp of a legion was probably the military engineer of the legion. The following is the account given of the office in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities:—"The prefect of the camp is first mentioned in the reign of Augustus. There was one to each legion. We learn from Vegetus that it was his duty to attend to all matters connected with the making of a camp, such as the vallum, fossa, &c., and also to the internal economy of it."

It would be satisfactory to know the age of this altar, with the view of ascertaining whether or not it was possible that Terentius Firmus was the man who planned the Wall for Hadrian. The 6th Legion came to Britain in the time of Hadrian, and probably with him. There is nothing in the inscription to furnish us with a date. The form and clear cutting of the letters are not inconsistent with the supposition that the altar belongs to the reign of Hadrian.

Two of the letters of the inscription, however, (TR in *castrorum*) are presented in combination. I do not myself remember an instance of this in an inscription in the time of Hadrian, but it occurs frequently in the reign of his successor, Antoninus Pius. If Firmus was not engaged upon the southern Barrier in the year 120, he probably was upon the northern in 140.

The discovery of another altar, in addition to those previously known, gives strength to the conviction expressed by Horsley, Hodgson, and others, that Hexham was the seat of a Roman garrison. If more of the ground in the vicinity of the spot where this altar was found were levelled, other inscriptions might be found, and possibly one which would give us the means of ascertaining with certainty the Roman name of the place. May it be soon, and may we be there to see!

J. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE.

October, 1871.

P.S. Since writing the above I have received a communication from Professor Hübner respecting the point in the inscription about which I was in doubt. That learned epigraphist says, "The new altar at Hexham is very interesting. The copy of the inscription is thoroughly satisfactory; it is no great loss that the prænomen of Terentius Firmus and his father has perished; for certainly nothing else is wanting but those single letters. The *tribus Oufentina* contains the key for the explanation of SAEN; it is certainly *Saena* (so better spelled than Sena) the celebrated town of Etruria, now Siena; for this belonged to that tribe, the Oufentina. Therefore we must expand SAEN by Saenensis or Saeniensis," indicating that Terentius Rufus was a native of Siena.

J. C. B.

THE TINDER-BOX, AND ITS PRACTICAL SUCCESSOR.

BY ROBERT W. FOSS, M.D.

THE objects of this paper are—first, to show that friction lucifer matches were first sold in the year 1827; secondly, that Mr. John Walker, of Stockton-upon-Tees, was the inventor;—points which, although never strictly disputed, have not as yet been laid down as facts. It is necessary, in commencing, to distinguish between the friction and phosphorus match: the latter was not invented till the year 1834, and has since been superseded by other matches of more agreeable composition.

The word match, according to the London Encyclopædia, is derived from the Greek noun *μυκῆς* signifying dried fungus, and is there further defined as a splinter or cord used to set fire to a candle or gun. The corresponding Italian word is *micchia*; the French being *meche*, from which we have our English word match.

The word lucifer is made up of the two Latin words, *lux*, signifying light, and *fero*, to carry; and the light-carrier phosphorus has exactly the same meaning, being, however, derived from the Greek. Therefore in English lucifer match means a light-bearing splinter (of wood).

The following appears in the Illustrated London News (October, 1860):—

“The brimstone matches, the tinder-box, and the flint and steel, as well as the song, are now amongst the matters of the past; and so completely have the lucifers superseded them, that the fire-producing apparatus which was, and had been for centuries, so common in every dwelling throughout the land, are almost as rare as the schoolboy’s ‘Hornbook,’ the street oil lamps, the London hackney coaches, sedan chairs, and other matters which have vanished from view. It is remarkable how gradually yet surely those matters which have been made useless by improvements vanish.

There is now only one of the two-horse hackney coaches in London, so that a person who remembers the multitude of them once in the streets, if curious about it, might have some difficulty in finding the remaining example. It may, however, be often seen in the cab rank on the London Bridge railway terminus. Just as scarce has the flint and steel tinder-box become. When searching for matters of greater importance we have inquired in many parts of the metropolis, and in many

districts of England and Scotland, for a remaining example of an apparatus which was once so well known, and which has so often tried the patience of the dames of the preceding generation. Some thought they had one, others knew somebody who had. When inquiry, however, came to be made, they were either not to be found or were in some way imperfect."

Without myself attempting a history of the subject, I will give the following comprehensive extract (for the suggestion of which I am indebted to the kindness and courtesy of Dr. Lyon Playfair, M.P.) from the XXIX. Report of the Juries of the Exhibition of 1851, reported by Warren De La Rue, Ph.D., F.R.S., &c., and A. W. Hofmann, Ph.D., F.R.S., F.C.S., Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of Turin, of the Philomathic Society of Paris, &c., Professor of Chemistry, Royal College of Chemistry:—

"In another part of this Report will be found some descriptive notices of several conveniences for travellers and others contained in the hollow heads of walking sticks. One of these consisted of an apparatus for procuring instantaneous light, and the contrivance appears almost to realize the fable of Prometheus, who concealed the fire which he stole from Jupiter in his *narthex ferula*, or stem of fennel, on which he leaned in travelling.

‘I am he who sought the source of fire,
Enclosing it hid in my narthex staff;
And it hath shown itself a friend to man
And teacher of all arts.’¹

This invention, however, was in reality only the means of preserving fire unextinguished, somewhat like the German tinder of the present time, and not of causing instantaneous ignition. The giant fennel, of which the ordinary ancient walking sticks were made, sheds its seeds about September, when the stem decays, and becomes a substance so easily ignited as to be employed in Sicily for tinder. The pith of the plant also is stated by Proclus to be an excellent preserver of flame, to which Pliny adds his testimony, that it makes excellent matches, the Egyptian sort being the best.²

"There is, however, another form in which a staff may be metaphorically said to conceal fire, since one of the most primitive means of producing it was by the friction of two pieces of wood against each other until sparks were emitted, and flame was then easily communicated to dry leaves or decayed vegetable matter. This method of procuring fire has been found generally in use in several savage nations, though with some difference in the process; and St. Pierre describes one of the most common, as practised by the West India negroes:—‘With the sharp edge of a stone,’ says his narrative, ‘Paul made a small hole in the branch of a tree that was sufficiently dry, which he fixed firmly between

¹ Æsch., Prometh. Vinet. 110.

² Proclus, Comment. in Hesiod. Opera et Dies, i. 52, Plinii Hist. Nat. xiii, 22.

his feet, and he then employed the stone to shape into a point another piece of wood, equally dry, but of a kind different from the former. He next placed the pointed wood in the hole which he had provided, and made it to turn rapidly between his hands like a chocolate mill, and in a few moments he saw smoke and sparks issuing from the place of contact, and then collecting dry plants and sticks, he lighted a fire at the foot of the palm tree.³

"It appears that the same process was in ordinary use with the Romans down to a late period, even when the flint and steel were well known. 'This experience,' says Pliny, 'was first discovered in camps and by shepherds, when a fire was wanted and a fitting stone was not at hand; for they rubbed together wood upon wood, by which attrition sparks were engendered, and then collecting any dry matter of leaves or fungi, they easily took fire. For this purpose nothing is better than to rub the wood of the ivy with that of the laurel, and a wild vine, different from the *labrusca*, which grows upon trees in the manner of ivy, has been also approved to be good.'⁴ The same authority, in enumerating the different kinds of wood fit for kindling a light, denominates them *igniaria*, or those trees out of which fire may be produced. *Pyxidicula igniaria* appears to have been the usual name of a Roman tinder-box, but Solinus calls the fire-box *ignitabulum*, and assigns its invention to Pyropolis, in the island of Delos.⁵ In those receptacles the apparatus probably consisted as well of a small iron bar and a fragment of flint or pyrites, as of pieces of those woods which were the most readily ignited. Virgil notices 'the hidden fire in the veins of flints,'⁶ as being one of the benefits anciently bestowed on man at the commencement of the reign of Jupiter; and pyrites are described by Pliny as being well known and esteemed for producing sparks, 'Certain of them,' he says, 'have much fire in them, whence we call them *living*, and they are very heavy. They are sought for because they are most valuable in camps; for when they are struck hard with an iron spike (*clavus*) or another stone, they will emit sparks, which being taken by sulphur or dry fungus or leaves, will cause them to catch fire even with the rapidity of speech.'⁷

"There does not appear to be any information extant relating to the material anciently employed for tinder, unless it may be presumed to be indicated in that passage of the Prophet Isaiah (chap. i., v. 5), which declares that 'the strong shall be as tow, and the maker of it as a spark, and they shall both burn together, and none shall quench them.' It is probable that a very small degree of experience would suggest the thought that flax or the linen wicks used for lamps would easily receive sparks and become ignited, but of this there has not been any certain information preserved.

"For many centuries the apparatus of a stone struck against a piece of iron continued, with but little improvement, to be the only means of procuring light. By the Saxons the flint or the pyrites was used under the general name of *fyr-stan*; and any piece of iron that was sufficiently substantial was the substitute for the modern steel: a writing stylus is known to have been used for the purpose by the Abbot

³ Suite des Etudes de la Nature : Paul et Virginie. ⁴ Nat. Hist., xvi. 40.

Polyhistor., c. xi.

⁶ Georg., i. 135.

⁷ Hist. Nat., xxxvi. 19.

Bertin, in Burgundy, early in the seventh century. An instrument, however, which should be at once more substantial and more convenient for striking, must have been soon required, and was probably as speedily invented in the form of the fusil, a thick rhomboidal piece of steel, having the faces cut into many angles. This was in use at a very early period of the middle ages, when it is frequently to be found mentioned under a variety of names, all of them being derived from the same original. In 1429 Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, established the Order of the Golden Fleece, in the collar of which the flint and steel of the time formed the principal device. The latter was thereon represented as a short and stout fusil, sharpened to a pointed edge on one side, and on the other having two small curved handles, with a vacant space between them for the hand; and a modification of this shape for the steel continued to exist to the close of the history of the old-fashioned tinder-box.⁸

"It was not until after the middle of the seventeenth century that the discovery of phosphorus indicated a quicker or more certain means of procuring light or fire. In 1677, Dr. Hook, in one of his Cutler lectures, described the effects of phosphorus as they had been recently exhibited in England to the Hon. Robert Boyle and several other Fellows of the Royal Society, by Daniel Krafft, 'a famous German chemist.' Even after all the earliest experiments, however, the new matter appeared to be regarded only as a curiosity, which Boyle entitled the 'Noctiluca,' and a 'factitious self-shining substance' procured but in very small quantities, and with great labour and time, the principal value of which was to supply a light in the night or in dark places, when exhibited in glass vessels. It can scarcely be doubted but that some trial was made as to whether an ordinary match could be inflamed by the substance; but Boyle's recorded experiments refer only to the strength, the diffusion, and the continuance of the light.

"After these notices of the older apparatus devised for procuring light, it will be an interesting inquiry briefly to glance at the history of chemical matches. And here it may be first remarked that the transition from the tinder-box, with its flint and steel, to the elegant friction match, was not so simple as a superficial consideration of the subject might lead one to infer. In the daily enjoyment of a luxury, we but too often forget the persevering efforts which are always necessary to render available the discoveries of the experimental philosopher, and take but little heed of him whose disinterested labours are constantly bringing to light new truths from the hidden but inexhaustible stores of nature.

"The perfecting of chemical matches has been accomplished chiefly during the last thirty years, for before 1820 scarcely any other method of producing fire was employed than that of the well known trio before alluded to, with which the ordinary sulphur match was inseparably associated.

"Soon after this period Doebereiner made the remarkable discovery that finely-divided platinum (spongy platinum) is capable of inflaming a mixture of hydrogen gas and atmospheric air, and he founded on this property of platinum the invention of the instantaneous light apparatus first known by the name of Doebereiner's Hydrogen Lamp. This was greatly admired at that time, and is even now frequently employed, it

⁸ Du Fresne, Glossarium, 1736, vi., col. 562, voce Sol. 3.

having been again recently applied to light an ordinary gas burner required to be ignited at intervals during the day-time for the purpose of sealing parcels and other similar objects. Although it was without any immediate influence on the development of the manufacture of chemical matches, which had before this time been repeatedly attempted, Doebereiner's discovery appears, nevertheless, to have attracted attention more generally to the subject, and thus, at least, to have contributed indirectly to their perfection.

"A method of producing ignition, proposed about the same period, has never been generally adopted. It depends upon the property which certain compounds of phosphorus and sulphur possess of inflaming, when slightly rubbed, in contact with the atmosphere. For this purpose about equal quantities of phosphorus and sulphur are fused together in a glass tube, which is to be subsequently closed with a cork.⁹ Upon opening the tube, if a splinter of wood be dipped into the mass, so that a small quantity of the composition may adhere to the wood, it will become ignited when slightly rubbed on the cork used to close the phial. This apparatus, however, has become almost entirely obsolete.

"The most important and permanent improvement in the means of obtaining light consisted in covering the sulphurized end of a match with a mixture of sugar and chlorate of potash; which being deflagrated by immersion into concentrated sulphurated acid, communicated the inflammation to the underlying coating of sulphur. Many persons will call to mind the small glass phial containing asbestos moistened with concentrated sulphuric acid, which was usually fixed in a paper or tin box having two compartments, one of which held the prepared matches. These matches were in all probability invented in France, whence at least they were certainly first introduced into England; but prior to their introduction Captain Manby had been accustomed to employ a similar mixture for firing a small piece of ordnance for the purpose of conveying a rope to a stranded vessel; and indeed the composition was also described by Parkes in his *Chemical Catechism*¹⁰ amongst the experiments illustrative of combustion and detonation at the close of the volume.

"Exactly the same principle was involved in the preparation of the matches invented by Mr. Jones, of the Strand, and used for some time under the name of 'Prometheans,' but which do not appear to have found their way to the Continent. These were made of a roll of paper, into one end of which was placed a small quantity of a mixture of sugar and chlorate of potash, with a small tube (hermetically sealed), similar to those in which the leads of ever-pointed pencils are preserved, containing a minute quantity of strong sulphuric acid. By compressing the match with a pair of pliers sold for the purpose, or between two hard substances (between the teeth, for example), the tube was crushed, and the sulphuric acid came into contact with the mixture, and ignited it. These matches, though very convenient, were so expensive that they were not very generally employed; but they certainly formed, as it were, the stepping-stone to the production of the friction match.

⁹ To those who would repeat this experiment, we would remark, that the fusion should be performed with great caution, inasmuch as the mixture frequently detonates at the moment when the components enter into chemical combination.

¹⁰ Third edition, 1808, p. 562.

"The first friction matches, or congreves, made their appearance about 1832. They had a coating of a mixture of two parts of sulphide of antimony and one part of chlorate of potash, made into a paste with gum-water, over their sulphurized ends, and were ignited by drawing them rapidly *between* the two surfaces of a piece of folded sand-paper, which was compressed by the finger and thumb.

"The Reporters have not succeeded in learning with certainty by whom the substitution of phosphorus for the sulphide of antimony was first suggested; the mixture of the sulphide with chlorate of potash requires so much pressure to produce the ignition that it was frequently pulled off from the match, and this substitution was therefore an important improvement.¹¹ The phosphorus matches, or lucifers, appear indeed to have been introduced contemporaneously in different countries about the year 1834. In Germany they were first manufactured on a large scale in the Grand Duchy of Hesse, and especially in Darmstadt, where Dr. Moldenhauer, in particular, contributed much to the improvement of this branch of industry.

"From Darmstadt the manufacture was gradually extended through Germany; but its progress was at first very slow, on account of the lucifer match being prohibited, until the year 1840, in Bavaria, Brunswick, Hanover, and various other states, on account of the alleged risk of fire consequent upon its employment."

The next evidence we have is that of Mr. Isaac Holden, a woollen manufacturer and inventor of woollen machinery, formerly a member of Parliament. It occurs at page 150 of the Report from the Select Committee on Letters Patent (1871). Mr. Holden there says—

"I began as an inventor on a very small scale. For what I know I was the first inventor of lucifer matches, but it was the result of a happy thought. In the morning I used to get up at four o'clock, in order to pursue my studies, and I used at that time the flint and steel, in the use of which I found great inconvenience. I gave lectures in chemistry at the time at a very large academy. Of course I knew, as other chemists did, the explosive material that was necessary in order to produce instantaneous light, but it was difficult to obtain a light on wood by that explosive material, and the idea occurred to me to put under the explosive mixture sulphur. I did that, and published it in my next lecture and showed it. There was a young man in the room whose father was a chemist in London, and he immediately wrote to his father about it, and shortly afterwards lucifer matches were issued to the world. I believe that was the first occasion that we had the present lucifer match, and it was one of these inventions that some people think ought not to be protected by a patent."

There is here a remarkable absence of dates, but there cannot be a doubt that Mr. Holden means the phosphoro-sulphur match, which of course was not the first lucifer match; but as we are here not contending

¹¹ Detonating mixtures of chlorate of potash with either sulphide of antimony or phosphorus are described in Parkes's Chemical Catechism, 10th edit., published in 1822; and the latter in the 3rd edition (1808).

who invented that particular kind of match, but who invented the friction lucifer, there is no need to enter further into the matter, except to notice it as having gone the round of the papers, and still therefore fresh in the memory of many persons.

John Walker (the subject of this memoir) was the third son of John Walker, a grocer, draper, and spirit merchant, who occupied and was the owner of the shop No. 104, High Street, Stockton (opposite the Town Hall), and was born on the 24th of May, 1781. He was educated in the town, and when he had attained the usual age was apprenticed to Mr. Watson Alcock, surgeon. After completing his apprenticeship, he went to London for a few years, then came back to Mr. Alcock; afterwards he spent several years in Durham and York in the employ of wholesale druggists, finally settling down in Stockton as a druggist in June, 1819. He would then be 38 years of age. In physique he was a little thin man, never weighing more than nine stones. He was never married. He commenced business in the druggist's shop next door to Messrs. Jennett & Co., and not, as is generally said, on the opposite side of the street. Many persons can remember the matches being sold at this establishment. It is said that Mr. Walker's relations were desirous that he should become a surgeon, but as he had an invincible horror to surgical operations, he would not follow out their wishes. When an apprentice with Mr. Alcock, he first began to show his scientific proclivities. He became an expert botanist, and was well acquainted with all the common plants of the neighbourhood, as well as the most likely places to find them. He was also very fond of mineralogy, a science which was just then springing up, and which later was much studied by young men in the town, who frequently consulted him about rare or difficult specimens. He was also constantly making chemical experiments, and it is within the recollection of John Clennett, a bookbinder, still living, that he used to go to the shop where Clennett was working to beg the gold leaf which was brushed from the lettering of the books, for the purpose of making fulminating gold. On one occasion, when in his house upon the Quayside, near to Cleveland Row, some chemical mixture he had compounded fell upon the hearthstone and ignited, and then Walker exhibited some of his compound to the wondering gaze of the bookbinder, and the mixture was handed about as a novelty, no one thinking that the discovery possessed any really practical use. The following account was published in a local newspaper in the year 1852:—

“Mr. Walker was preparing some lighting mixture for his own use when a match, after being dipped in the preparation, took fire by accidental friction on the hearth. This was the first friction match; and

the hint was not lost. He commenced to make friction matches, selling with every box a piece of doubled sandpaper to set them in flame by pressure of the thumb and forefinger and a sharp pull. It was in the month of April, 1827, that he began the sale, and his first customer was the late Mr. John Nixon, solicitor, of Stockton. Harrison Burn was employed to make the matches, and the boxes were made by John Ellis at threehalfpence each, the price of a box containing fifty being one shilling."

The exact chemical composition of the matches Mr. Walker always kept secret, and from a careful search which has been made in his books it has not been possible to find it. Showing how near he was the discovery of the phosphorus match, there are a number of experiments on light-producing substances, which he has noted in a book now in the possession of his niece, Mrs. Hutchinson Wilkinson (who has very kindly revised this part of my paper). According to some notes I have of lectures delivered in the University of Edinburgh, session 1863-4, friction matches were there said to have been invented in the year 1832, that is to say, five years after the subject of this paper manufactured and sold them. It is there likewise said, as it is by all other authorities I have consulted, that they were composed of chlorate of potash and sulphuret of antimony, and for want of other proof, we must conclude Walker's matches were of the same composition. Phosphorus matches were not invented till the year 1834. Phosphorus was added in the place of the sulphuret of antimony. Sulphur is not now used in the preparation of the best matches: stearine or some fatty matter is generally substituted. The first friction matches sold by Mr. Walker were made of cardboard or a substance similar to what the present fusée pipe-lighters are made; but he soon substituted splinters of wood for this. The sandpaper sold with them in shape resembled a cocked hat, into which the match was inserted and drawn out sharply. For the manufacture of the matches and boxes, Walker employed, besides his own men, all the old pensioners in the alms houses. It is said, with how much truth it is impossible to find out, that the late Professor Faraday heard of the invention, and came to Stockton to see Mr. Walker about it, and then strongly urged him to take out a patent, which he declined to do. He, however, gave Faraday an account of their composition, which Faraday communicated to some German, who at once started a manufactory of them in his own country. With reference to the patenting of his invention, it is said that he, like the inventor of phosphorus matches, thought at the time that they were of such trifling importance that they would not pay the expense, and it was well known that Mr. Walker was a studious retiring man, caring more to pursue his scientific studies, whether botanizing or experimenting in chemistry, than speculating in order to make money. It may be stated that he

realized sufficient to enable him to live in retirement for many years previous to his death. He died at Stockton on the 1st of May, 1857, aged 73 years, having been afflicted for some time with dropsy. It is right to say here that Mr. Alderman Jackson, J.P., of Stockton, has written several letters to various newspapers on this subject.

After a careful consideration of what has here been advanced, there cannot now be two opinions as to who was the inventor of friction matches. In point of date no one has yet brought forward a prior claim. All authorities state that the first friction match was invented in the year 1832, whereas I hope the evidence now given has proved that they were publicly sold at Stockton in the year 1827, that is to say, five years before they were generally known to scientific men.

If we take into consideration the distance of Stockton from London, and the difficulties in those days of communicating between the two places, we can almost think that it would take that time for the knowledge of the invention to travel so far southwards. Also, when we look at the varied scientific knowledge and constant application to scientific work of the man—although we have no exact formula of the composition of the matches—coupled with the fact that he has left notes of a great number of experiments (many original) with phosphorus and other readily ignitable substances, the argument is still further strengthened; for it is proved more and more distinctly every day that no discovery is the result of accident or mere chance, but always the terminating link of a sorites of logical propositions thoroughly discussed; and we have no doubt that for many years he had this subject clearly before his mind. It is true that if it had been possible the production of actual specimens of the matches would have clearly established the nature of their composition; but this has been prevented by reason of the number of years which have elapsed, and the essentially destructible nature of the articles under notice. It is proper to point out that the friction match had no rival, and it is admitted on all sides that it was the first practical match; also that it was soon superseded. It, like all other new ideas, although the public mind was gradually for many years by various light-producing inventions prepared for its reception, met with opposition, and it was many years before it became the indispensable household article that it now is, and it is not so long since many of the captains of the old Tyne colliers would not consider it "lucky" to have a lucifer on board. It is to be regretted he did not patent his invention, because then we should easily have known all the essential and necessary particulars.

* * * Since writing the above, my attention has been directed by Mr. J. G. Forster, of Newcastle, to the following curious paragraph which

occurs in the "Lounger's Common-Place Book," 1805, under the heading "The Black Assize," and, as illustrating the kind of opposition which the introduction of lucifer matches met. is very interesting.

"The recusant papist perhaps might have been able to have performed the task assigned to him [the alledged setting fire to a poisoned lamp-wick by Rowland Jenks, whilst being sentenced to death for seditious and treasonable words spoken against Queen Elizabeth] had he been furnished with *phosphorus matches*, that invention of modern times, by which the chemist and the philosopher have so effectually forwarded the purposes of house-breakers and nocturnal assassins, but which, like its cotemporary discovery, the air balloon, cannot, I believe, be applied to any purpose of utility or convenience."

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORDS.

TO THE HONORABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED,

The Humble Petition of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne

SHEWETH,

That the members of this Society have learned with great dissatisfaction that, in a bill introduced into your Honorable House, intituled "An Act for better enforcing the Laws Ecclesiastical respecting the Discipline of the Clergy; amending the constitution and "regulating the mode of procedure of the Ecclesiastical Courts; and "regulating the government of the Ecclesiastical Registries in England," clauses have (without any public enquiry) been introduced by the Lord Romilly, the Master of the Rolls, providing for a transfer to himself, and the placing in the Public Record Office of London, of various deeds, wills, processes, acts, proceedings, registers, and other documents relating to the various dioceses of England and Wales, unless the respective bishops thereof shall, within two months after the passing of the act, certify that the same several documents have been duly sorted, classed, and indexed, up to a period within five years ending December last: and that another attempt is to be made to obtain the removal of parish registers.

That these clauses would enable a continuation of the removal of local records to London, whereby local students are practically debarred from the use of them, great local mistrust has arisen, the general progress of historical knowledge in this kingdom is impeded, and the costs of legal proceedings and the hindrances to the honest administration of justice are seriously increased.

That the documents in question in the North of England have been largely used by the antiquaries of that part of the country in the compilation of the noble works relating to it, and that there exists a systematic use of the records in their respective places. The Surtees Society, which has already printed 54 volumes from original MSS., is at present engaged in the publication of a volume devoted to the Register of Walter Gray, Archbishop of York from 1215 to 1255.

That official copies or abstracts of local records made or printed at London neither are nor can be so accurate, judicious, and satisfactory as the labours of gentlemen possessed of the requisite local knowledge of persons, subjects, and places, and that it is most inexpedient to discourage or destroy local schools of history by depriving them of records.

That hardly any proper calendars or indexes of the more ancient and valuable contents of the Public Record Office have as yet been published, while the period of two months mentioned in the objectionable clauses is manifestly insufficient for sorting, classifying, and indexing according to modern ideas, however desirous the custodians of records may be to do so.

That there is no reason to suppose that a removal of episcopal registers and other records would conduce to their publicity. That no provision is made for the removal and publicity of the valuable parliamentary surveys (similar to those open to the public at Lambeth) and other documents removed from Auckland Castle by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. That such of the Durham records as have been removed to the Public Record Office were so removed at the commencement of 1869, yet rolls of which much use was made by historians in the country are not even distinguished, and such few calendars as have appeared for Durham are imperfect, inconvenient, and inexact; while the well known great surveys, and rolls of account, and registers which have repeatedly been decided to be of a public character, are not now produced to the public.

That it cannot, from experience, be expected that the records proposed to be removed would be sorted, classed, or indexed, in the Public Record Office, within the period of two months, or be made more useful than they are at present within any reasonable time, unless it be also expected that local enquirers shall be at the trouble and expense of a prolonged absence in London gratuitously for the purpose.

That, although it has not been found that access to records in the country generally has been denied to the public in the manner that access to such of the Durham records as have been under London control has been, it is, nevertheless, suggested that to prevent misunderstandings, it might be well to enact that all documents relating to estates,

the revenues whereof have been devoted to the general welfare of the Established Church, should, in common justice to all concerned, be declared, in express terms, to be public; and that their custody, sorting, classification, and indexing, in their respective localities, should be provided for out of the palatine, episcopal, and capitular revenues originally liable thereto, before such revenues should be diverted for the public benefit. The attention of your Honorable House is more particularly directed to this subject, inasmuch as, notwithstanding the enormous revenues of the franchise and see of Durham, no supervision of the records thereof was exercised by their owners after the Bishops of Durham ceased to have the full beneficial enjoyment of the franchise and see, until, under colour of the Public Records Act, the records were *de facto*, and, as we believe, *de facto* only, and not *de jure*, removed to the Public Record Office, because the authorities of the county of Durham, in the discharge of their duties, properly declined to comply with the request that the records should be kept at the expense of other funds.

That your petitioners, on grounds of public policy, object to the removal of the parish registers, which, in any case, should be removed, if at all, to the General Registry at Somerset House, for public and free access, which, practically, is generally enjoyed at present, as far as ancient registers are concerned.

Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray your Honourable House not to pass into law the clauses hereinbefore referred to.

And they also humbly pray your Honorable House to institute public enquiry into and to redress the grievances as to the removal and present dealings with the records relating to Her Majesty's franchise and the see of Durham, and all ecclesiastical records in the Public Record Office and in the possession of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and all other records in their possession.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Given under our Common Seal and the signature of our President the fourth day of April, 1872.

RAVENSWORTH, PRESIDENT.

L. S.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF JOHN HODGSON HINDE, ESQ.

To be remembered when we are gone is a desire implanted in the human bosom, which has been indicated through all ages in almost every possible way. Eastward from Rome, the remains of tombs on each side of the Appian Way, at no great distance from each other, may be traced to a distance of above ten miles from the Eternal City, and they who preferred the sides of that road, as their last resting place, did so that their names might be read on stone by all who went to, or returned from, Greece, Palestine, and the other regions of the East. This 'longing after immortality,' which in the case of John Milton, was 'death to hide,' is an impulse certainly of the noblest kind when directed to the welfare of the human race. Yet some who have done good service either to science or literature, often pass away without a fair tribute of respect being awarded them. Such neglect is in no way creditable where benefit has been received, hence we would speak of one recently departed, who has thrown new and important light on several subjects, elucidating the history both of Newcastle and the county of Northumberland.

The late John Hodgson Hindé was of an ancient family, for a sketch of his pedigree now before us, by his own hand, dates as far back as 1474, in which year William Hodgson was Sheriff of Newcastle. Another ancestor, Richard Hodgson, was Sheriff in 1549, and Mayor of the same town in 1556, 1566, and 1580, dying in 1585. Mr. Hodgson's great-grandfather bought the manor of Elswick, and died 4th November, 1749. His father, who married, in 1803, Sarah, daughter of Richard Huntley, Esq., of Fryerside, in the county of Durham,¹ was born in 1774, and died 12th July, 1820. John Hodgson, the subject of our memoir, being the eldest son, was born on the 30th July, 1806. From about the eighth year of his age he was placed under the tutelage of the late Rev. James Birkett, of Ovingham, after which he

¹ A beautifully situated property on the banks of the Derwent, which has been nearly three centuries in the family, and is inherited by Mr. Richard Hodgson, of Carham, as heir-at-law to his brother; consequently he has assumed the name of Huntley.

was confided to the care of Mr. Carr, head-master of the school at Durham, and under these able teachers he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Latin language, which was of essential use to him when his attention was directed to the early documents of Border History. Afterwards he studied for a time under the Rev. Henry Blunt, of Clare, Suffolk, a man who distinguished himself in clerical literature, and subsequently he kept several terms at Trinity College, Cambridge. On arriving at manhood, being by patrimony a freeman of Newcastle, he took an active part in public business, and qualified as a magistrate for the county, being, with the exception of Mr. Cresswell, of Cresswell, as to date, the oldest member in point of qualification on the bench. About this early period he was also appointed to another office, that of a Deputy Lieutenant for the county of Northumberland.

The arduous duties of Mr. Hodgson's political career commenced in 1830, on the death of King George the Fourth, when he was requested to allow himself to be put in nomination as a representative for Newcastle. Considering the unaffected modesty of his nature, it is somewhat singular he assented to this; yet he did so, the result being that, with Sir M. W. Ridley, he was triumphantly returned, and a medal was struck, bearing an excellent likeness of the young member, in commemoration of the event. In the following year, also, Sir M. W. Ridley and he were returned without opposition. On the Reform Bill becoming law in 1832, though opposed by Charles Attwood (for Sir M. W. Ridley was secure), Mr. Hodgson was again elected by a majority over his opponent of nearly six hundred votes. An important event in his life took place on the 31st January, 1833, when he led to the altar Isabella, eldest daughter and co-heiress of the late Anthony Compton, Esq., of Carham Hall, on the northern border of Northumberland. On the occasion of his marriage, a sumptuous dinner was served up to the inmates of the several freemen's hospitals in Newcastle.

When the dismissal of the Melbourne Cabinet occurred in 1834, the event was succeeded by another election in Newcastle, and after a severe struggle Mr. William Ord occupied the head of the poll, Sir M. W. Ridley outnumbering Mr. Hodgson by about two hundred and fifty votes, while Aytoun, the fourth candidate, was much the lowest of all. On Mr. Hodgson's defeat the public mind was influenced greatly in his favour, and a large number of his political friends uniting together, held a meeting in the Assembly Rooms on the 12th June, 1835, when they presented him with two beautiful and massive pieces of silver plate in the shape of soup tureens, with stands, &c., all complete, in recognition of the able and independent way in which he had represented Newcastle during the three successive parliaments.

On the decease of Sir M. W. Ridley in July, 1836, Mr. Hodgson was again brought forward to contest the constituency. He was opposed by Captain Blackett, but on the 25th of the same month, after a severe contest, he was returned by a majority of forty-eight votes. Also, in the course of the following month, in compliance with the will of Miss Elizabeth Archer Hind, of Stelling Hall and Ovington Lodge, Northumberland, he assumed the additional name of Hind by royal authority.² At the general election during August, 1837, another contest ensued, the candidates being Mr. William Ord, Mr. Hodgson Hinde, Mr. C. J. Bigge, Mr. J. B. Coulson, and Mr. A. H. Beaumont, when, at the close of the poll, Mr. Ord and Mr. Hinde were returned as members for Newcastle. At the general election in 1841 Mr. Ord and Mr. Hinde met with no opposition, and they continued to represent that northern town till 1847, when the latter declined to come forward again, and consequently his political connection with Newcastle was on that occasion brought to a close. To his honour be it said, that during the seventeen years Mr. Hodgson Hinde represented the metropolis of the North, he was ever to be found in his place when matters of any importance came before the House, and gained respect from all classes by attention to his duties, and his readiness, by upright means, to promote the trade of the port and the interests of the borough. He spoke frequently both in the House and in Committee, and his remarks and suggestions were always listened to with attention. Having gained an early reputation for honesty of purpose and sound judgment, these he brought to bear on every useful measure which came before parliament. According to a sentence respecting him, a few weeks ago, in a public notice of his decease, 'He always preferred not to appear in the foreground, but would lend his able and cheerful assistance to the uttermost; and his public services—his large attainments and singular ability—with his kind and obliging disposition, won for him the respect and esteem of all.'

In placing before the reader an outline of Mr. Hodgson Hinde's labours, we ought to state that whilst residing in London on parliamentary business, amidst the intervals of leisure he enjoyed, he must have devoted many hours towards investigating the sources whence light could be thrown on the early history of the North of England. In Part III. of Vol. III. of the Rev. John Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, which was published in 1835, and contained the 'Pipe Rolls' of the county from 1130 to 1272, &c., the author in his preface thankfully acknowledges his obligations to 'John Hodgson, Esq., M.P., for

² These estates were inherited, under entail, by Mr. Thomas Hodgson, Mr. Hinde's second brother, who thereupon assumed the name of Archer Hind.

the unremitting and intelligent zeal with which, at his own expense, he had procured materials for that work.' This was shewn more fully about the period of Mr. Hodgson Hinde's retirement from Parliament, for in 1847, a royal octavo volume of about 300 pages was printed and published under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. It contained the 'Pipe Rolls,' or Sheriffs' Annual Accounts for Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham, during the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John. The introduction of the book occupies above 70 pages, elucidating those revenues of the crown in such a minute way that—the historian of Northumberland having died in 1845—no living man in the North at the time could have written it and compiled the contents, save Mr. John Hodgson Hinde. The volume was printed in Newcastle, and is now scarce, but like other works of the kind sent forth by the Rev. John Hodgson, the valuable and important matter it contains is too difficult in the original form to be mastered by the common reader, and hence it is not in great request. This, however, cannot lessen the worth of these records in illustrating a dark and early period of our country's history, and as no name either on the title or at the preface indicated who the investigator might be, we have here another proof of the extreme reserve and gentlemanly feeling of Mr. Hodgson Hinde that cannot be too highly appreciated.

Mention of this work brings to our recollection another of less size, but consisting of 106 pages, dated 1852, and entitled 'The Fountains of British History explored.' The publishers are J. B. and J. G. Nichols, London. No name reveals the compiler, but from a general knowledge of those who were likely to draw up such a compendium, we believe the evidence points conclusively to him of whose labours we are endeavouring to draw a faint outline. The modesty of its title and preface, and the profound research apparent in its pages, evince the same hand to which we are indebted for the volume last mentioned.

As we shall relate at greater length Mr. Hodgson Hinde's contributions to historical literature, we now turn to another sphere in which he exerted himself for the benefit of the public. Soon after he retired from Parliament, he filled the office of High Sheriff for the county of Northumberland. Yet it was not in official life alone that he won his laurels honourably, for whatever tended to promote the welfare of the country was sure on every occasion to command his ready influence and support.

Considering the increase of population all round the district, he was not slow in perceiving the danger and difficulty of crossing the Tyne above Newcastle, and accordingly he united cordially with the proper authorities in having a road opened up westward, and in erecting the

suspension bridge at Scotswood. It was opened 12th April, 1831, on which occasion, in the name of the committee, he presented John Green, the architect, with an elegant silver claret jug. Again, when George Stephenson attracted the notice of the observing world by his locomotive engines, and by advocating the benefits which would result to society by the extension of railways, Mr. Hodgson Hindle was among the first to perceive and publicly to acknowledge the sound and practical ideas of the Killingworth engine-man. So also, from the active part he took in the formation of the Newcastle and North Shields Railway, he was appointed vice-chairman of the Company—Mr. M. Bell being chairman, who at the time was also member for South Northumberland. Hence Mr. Hodgson Hindle, on the 13th January, 1835, laid the foundation stones of the Ouseburn and Willington Bridges, these being at that time the largest railway viaducts in the North, and the line was formally opened on the 18th June, 1839. Even towards the close of his life, when the Redheugh Bridge was thought to be necessary for the convenience of those who were located on the west side of Newcastle and also of Gateshead, Mr. Hodgson Hindle took an active part in promoting the measure, and was elected chairman of the company of proprietors.

Before we enter on the peculiar line of historical research in which Mr. Hodgson Hindle especially excelled, we may remark that there had been labourers in the field before him of no mean capacity, and it is probable that his spirit caught inspiration from the brilliancy of their flame. In the early part of last century, John Horsley, M.A., a Presbyterian clergyman of Morpeth, gleaned all the information that was then known of the memorials left by the Romans, during the occupation of Britain by that wonderful people, and died about the 46th year of his age, worn down, it may be, by the labour he had undergone in preparing his great work, *BRITANNIA ROMANA*, which was published in 1732, shortly after his decease. Then, during the period of Mr. Hodgson Hindle's early manhood, and down nearly to the close of his parliamentary career, another worker, the Rev. John Hodgson, was toiling on at the *History of Northumberland*, and by his intense application in bringing out that work, he shortened his days, leaving behind him, however, a book, imperfect though it be, that will continue to be prized through all time. That able county historian, while he spent a considerable portion of his studious life at Whelpington, and the later part at Hartburn, we say it without fear of contradiction, was one of the most remarkable men in the North of England. Mr. Hodgson Hindle knew this, and it is likely a kindred sympathy induced him to continue his researches in the same direction. Herein he was very

successful. From 1844 to 1855, while the papers and communications of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries of which he was vice-president, were in the course of printing, to complete the quarto series of *Archæologia Æliana*, Mr. Hodgson Hinde either read or sent in five contributions, all of considerable interest. These consisted of—‘The Site of Bremetenracum in the Notitia and Itinerary,’ ‘Viscountal Rents of Northumberland,’ ‘Rents payable towards the Old Castle,’ ‘Investigations on the Sites of Horsley’s List of Stations on the line of the Roman Wall and other places in the Notitia and Itinerary,’ and lastly ‘On the Belgic Tribes in Britain.’

A new series of the *Archæologia Æliana* was commenced in 1857 of an octavo size, and in the six volumes now issued, we find not less than fourteen papers, partly differing from those in the preceding series, but all tending to illustrate the history either of Newcastle or Northumberland. Besides those that treat exclusively of Antiquity, in 1859 he threw the result of his knowledge into a more popular shape by his excellent paper ‘On the Original Site and Progressive Extension of Newcastle, with an estimate of its Population at various periods.’ Another followed of almost equal merit, ‘On the Early Municipal History of Newcastle,’ and, subsequently, that ‘On the Old North Road,’ showed how well the writer was acquainted with all minute details on matters of that description. During 1860 he supplied another exhaustive paper ‘On Public Amusements in Newcastle,’ wherein, for the last two centuries, Races, Theatrical Performances, Exhibitions, Assemblies, Masquerades, Concerts, Inns, Taverns, and Coffee Houses, are all treated of with graphic fidelity. In 1865 we have his ‘Notes on the Rev. John Horsley,’ containing, among other remarks, every particular entry that could be gleaned from the Corporation books of Newcastle which throws light on the family and relatives of that memorable man. Mr. Hinde’s latest contribution to the last volume treats ‘On Early Printing in Newcastle,’ embracing, like the others, an amount of information which must have cost the compiler great pains to acquire. Indeed, these contributions to local history merit a much wider circulation over the country than the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries are calculated to diffuse.

We ought also to observe that apart from Mr. Hodgson Hinde’s labours on subjects of that kind, he was ever ready and most willing to communicate what he knew to others who were engaged in similar pursuits. Among the volumes issued by the Surtees Society, the *Boldon Buke* appeared in 1852, edited by the Rev. William Greenwell, of Durham, and that gentleman observes in the preface, he is indebted to ‘John Hodgson Hinde, Esq., for very important information on

drengage and cornage, indeed everything that is valuable on these articles in the glossary is due to him.' This is not a solitary instance of his zeal, especially in that line. The knowledge he possessed of the obscure customs which prevailed in the early history of our country, he was willing at all times, and on every occasion, to communicate, and it was done with the urbanity and grace becoming the true gentleman.

At such of the several Annual Meetings of the 'Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland' as were held in the North, Mr. Hinde contributed one or more papers illustrative of northern history. During that which assembled at Newcastle in August, 1852, he read one 'On the State of Newcastle and Gateshead during the Saxon Period,' and another 'On the Trade of Newcastle previous to the Reign of Henry III.' Both communications fortunately are preserved in the first volume of the 'Memoirs illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Northumberland,' which were produced at the Meeting of that year, and the Editor of the second volume, the Rev. Charles H. Hartshorne, in his preface acknowledges the several suggestions he received from his friend, John Hodgson Hinde, Esq., and observes he is indebted to him exclusively for the chapter on the Saxon Earls of Northumberland. Again, when the Institute met at Edinburgh in July, 1856, Mr. Hinde supplied a dissertation 'On the Condition of Lothian previous to its Annexation to Scotland.' We know this compilation would prove the well-grounded knowledge he possessed of ancient Northumberland, a district which extended from the Humber and Mersey on the south to the Forth and Clyde on the north. Also, during the latter end of July and beginning of August, 1859, when the yearly meeting of the Institute was held at Carlisle, Mr. Hinde performed a prominent part, occupying the chair on several occasions, and, moreover, he read an excellent paper 'On the Early History of Cumberland,' which fortunately appeared at p. 217, Vol. XVI. of the *Archæological Journal*, published in 1859. But this recalls to us another most important work which he accomplished, and with which his fame hereafter is likely to be more permanently associated.

In consequence of the lamented decease, in 1845, of the Rev. John Hodgson, his *History of Northumberland*, as has been stated, was left incomplete. He proposed to divide his work into three parts:—

- I. The General History of the County from the earliest periods.
- II. The Topography and Local Antiquities arranged in parishes.
- III. A Collection of Records and Illustrative Documents.

On the second and third Parts the historian had laboured with great diligence, but on the first Part, unfortunately, no progress had been

made. The Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, regarding the matter with much solicitude, requested Mr. Hodgson Hinde to supply the deficiency, which he undertook, and the result was, that in 1858 a quarto volume of 400 pages came from his pen, comprising the *General History of the County*, from the earliest period down to the accession of the House of Hanover. This publication must have cost Mr. Hinde immense labour in his search among ancient authorities, yet he seems to have examined them with the utmost care, separating from chaff the pure grain for the benefit of every English reader. The volume is indeed a memorial of Mr. Hinde's learning, industry, and perseverance, and renders more perfect the great work with which it is connected. Our space forbids us entering fully into its merits, but the following extract from a review of it which appeared soon after publication tells much in its favour:—

'Looking back to the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters, embracing the Norman possession of England, we think Mr. Hinde has here put forth his greatest strength; hence we would recommend our readers not to pass them over slightly, but bestow upon them the earnest consideration they deserve. There is here matter for instruction both to the solitary student and the practical business-man; and had nothing else proceeded from Mr. Hinde's pen, this portion of his work ought to procure him a niche in the temple of our historians. The information these chapters convey would seem to have been stored up gradually for a course of years, from the author's way of supplying in the first place a forcibly graphic sketch of Norman history, and then exhibiting in detail all the tenures, &c., whereon the government of that martial people was founded. We believe the economy and polity of the Norman kings have never before been so clearly and definitely marked out; and in future, should any writer undertake to treat that dynasty at length, let him look to this section drawn up by Mr. Hinde as a text-book wherein he will find much to facilitate his labour.'

Referring to the foregoing work, at page 151, and extending to page 157, we have a scrutinizing note on Symeon of Durham, in which the merits of that ancient chronicler are clearly pointed out, and a suggestion made that an improved edition of all he had written should be published. In 1864, it was ordered by the Council of the Surtees Society that a volume of Symeon's works should be edited by Mr. Hodgson Hinde, and in 1868 the book was issued to the members. The preface consists of nearly 80 pages, and proves how successfully Mr. Hinde had investigated every authority bearing on Northern History towards the close of the eleventh century. The Latin text alone occupies above 260 pages, and though Symeon's History of the Church of Durham is intended for a second volume, no part of it being in the first, Mr. Hinde

must have bestowed upon the present portion very great attention and labour. He observes he was induced to incur the responsibility of being editor only by the kind offer of the Rev. James Raine, Canon of York, to relieve him from the task of collating MSS. and correcting the press, but much depended on himself, and he performed his part well. Considerable progress in the composition of a critical preface to the second volume was made by him, and this will appear when it is issued by the Society.

Almost the last time we remember seeing Mr. Hodgson Hindle in a public capacity was when the Annual Meeting of the British Archæological Association was held in Durham, in August, 1865. On Wednesday the 23rd, he read a paper on 'The Progress of the Roman Arms in Britain,' and on Friday the 25th, he entertained the Members and Associates thereof, with many other friends, amounting to nearly two hundred, at dinner in the Assembly Rooms, Newcastle. The host presided of course, and by his cordial deportment diffused delight and enjoyment over the whole company. This was another proof of the interest he took in promoting the study of Northern Archæology, and giving that department of investigation all the aid he could bring to bear upon the subject.

We ought here to remark that about this time Dr. Bruce, known over the world for his exhaustive work on the *Roman Wall*, compiled a Hand-Book to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and in preparing it, he says, 'he is indebted to the accurate pen of John Hodgson Hindle, Esq., for the sections on the early history of the town and its monastic institutions.' He had previously written, and provisionally printed the opening portion of a History of Newcastle, for which material had been compiled by Mr. G. B. Richardson, and which was intended to be issued under the editorship of Mr. Thomas Gray. Thus we repeatedly perceive how his local information was held in request, and how freely he bestowed it, whenever the requirement came from an approved quarter.

Allusion has already been made to the Rev. John Horsley, and it may not be uninteresting here to state how Mr. Hodgson Hindle exerted himself to obtain a perusal of the manuscripts of that great man, which related to the History of Northumberland. They had been, about 1830, entrusted to the Rev. John Hodgson who printed extracts from them in his small volume of 'Memoirs,' 1831, but all further trace of them was unsuccessful. At last, by applying to David Laing, Esq., of the Signet Library, Edinburgh, well known over Britain by his connexion with the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, and his valuable editions of our old Scottish Poets, they were discovered, and, through him, presented, with several other papers and tracts of Horsley, by the owner,

Mr. Cay, in the most free and liberal spirit to the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Here Mr. Hodgson Hinde's own words on the gift are so appropriate that we gladly place them before the reader. He observes that until the historian of Northumberland had seen them, they had remained concealed for a complete century from the time of the author's death, and

'After a second interval of forty years, making in all 140, these materials had at length found a permanent resting place, combining security with facility of access. Still it appeared to me that something more was requisite, in order to make them to the fullest extent available for the illustration of the History of the County of Northumberland, and I resolved to accomplish this by committing them to the press, so that they may be read at leisure by hundreds who would have been deterred from their perusal, under the difficulties of a crabbed hand-writing, and ink in many instances nearly obliterated, and the text complicated by perpetual erasures and interlineations.'

Although suffering much from declining health, Mr. Hodgson Hinde performed in this instance what he intended to do, and added to the matter on Northumberland supplied by Horsley, a survey of a portion of the same county by George Mark in 1734. The whole was completed at his own expense, and copies were presented to the public Libraries of Newcastle and Gateshead, and to each member of the Society of Antiquaries of the former place. He entitled it "*Inedited Contributions to the History of Northumberland*, Part First." Of the matter intended by Mr. Hinde to form the concluding portion of the volume it seems necessary to offer some explanation.

The late Mr. Ralph Spearman, of Eachwick Hall, who died in 1823, aged 74, 'was one of the most distinguished local antiquaries in the North of England.' Mr. Surtees, the historian of Durham, observed 'he was almost the sole depository of a vast mass of oral and popular tradition.' In his possession was a copy of Hutchinson's *View of Northumberland*, uncut, the margins of the pages of which he had filled with notes of valuable information. Mr. Hodgson Hinde had obtained the loan of this book from the owner, and he intended to print these marginal notes on the county, with a preface and index to form Part Second of these important collections. He has, however been called away ere he could himself accomplish the design, and we lament it the more for this reason, that had he been spared, he might have added from his vast store of knowledge such additional notes as would have given the volume a value that no other individual can supply.

For a considerable period, notwithstanding the force and vigour of his mind, which was unimpaired to the last, Mr. Hodgson Hinde had been

in a declining state of health, and at last on the evening of Thursday the 25th November, 1869, he was called to his rest. He leaves no family save his widow, a respected and accomplished lady. His remains, accompanied by his relatives and friends, were interred in the vault at St. Peter's, Bywell, on the 30th November.

At the following monthly meeting of the members of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle, a motion was unanimously carried, that they 'receive with deep sorrow the announcement of the death of their late able and valued vice-president, Mr. J. Hodgson Hinde, of whose important contributions to the Society, and eminent services to historical literature they retain a grateful remembrance, and they respectfully offer to Mrs. Hodgson Hinde a sincere expression of their sympathy and condolence on that melancholy event.'

We cannot close this notice of one of our most eminent northern worthies, without expressing a wish that the several occasional contributions of Mr. Hinde, whether in print or manuscript, were gathered together, and published in one or two volumes. These papers well deserve preservation, and the journals or transactions in which they have hitherto appeared, being limited to a small circle of readers, were they appearing in a popular form, so that they might be read by all, they would tend greatly to advance and give a degree of perpetuity to his fame. He left no man behind him who knew more of northern history and antiquity, and the collection, if it did not outlive 'marble and the gilded monuments of princes,' would at least show that he merits a prominent place among those who have investigated and brought to public notice much of the early history of Newcastle and Northumberland. Since his decease, the MSS. he left have been generously given by his representatives to the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle. They are arranged, and such as are unpublished will be printed.

Mr. John Hodgson Hinde, from his youth upwards was a healthy-looking, handsome man. Being of middle height, he had a florid complexion, and his hair, inclining to dark, kept its hue well, till declining health and literary work tinged it slightly with gray. Unassuming by nature, he was, like all truly great men, entirely free of ostentation either in public or private life, while his manner and deportment always indicated the gentleman. Still, his bearing was not altogether that of the country squire. His superfine black dress and white linen always told more of the student than of one who enjoyed rustic life. Indeed, his appearance always reminded the writer of the venerable historian of Northumberland, the Rev. John Hodgson. The continued process of mental labour had imparted to the features of the latter something even of a more studious expression than could be traced in those of his

younger friend, yet it is singular how in both identity of name was accompanied to a certain extent by a coincidence of taste and pursuits. The fame of the one by what he performed in gathering together a harvest of north country history is firmly established; the other, by adding to the amount of knowledge previously reaped, has left also a name that will continue to be remembered throughout our district long after the present generation shall have passed away.

ROBERT WHITE.

THE SCREEN AND CHANCEL ARRANGEMENTS OF DARLINGTON CHURCH.

THE church at Darlington was built in that transitional period which, when the pointed arch became thoroughly established, produced a peculiarly vigorous phase of the Early English style in the North of England. In the counties of Northumberland and Durham the finest examples occur at Hexham, Brinkburn, Tynemouth, Hartlepool, and Darlington.

The discovery of the late Saxon sculptured stones proves that a church must have existed at Darlington about the time that Styr son of Ulphus gave the town to the church of Durham. It was one of the places selected for the reception of the ejected canons of Durham when the constitution of the cathedral was changed in the time of the Conqueror. These, it will be remembered, were hereditary priests, and the state of things in their various parishes must have strongly resembled the livings of modern times where a younger son of the patron from time to time succeeds to the benefice. In the parishes of ancient days, however, the eldest son would inherit. At what precise time the marriage of priests ceased in the North of England it is difficult to say. The question has peculiar interest with reference to the relations of bishop Pudsey with Adelidis de Percy, whose son Henry de Pudsey exchanged Perci in Normandy for some estates in Durham. Some curious evidence on the subject, of a much later date than one would have expected to find it, appears in canon Raine's book on the register of archbishop Walter Gray.

The rights of the ejected seculars, whatever they were, at Darlington, seem to have died out before the time of bishop Pudsey, who decreed that the order which was formerly at Durham should be restored in the church which, notwithstanding all his mischances and troubles, he was

building at Darlington. The year referred to was 1192. The new establishment consisted of four prebendaries.

From the first, therefore, the present church must have been both collegiate and parochial. As usual in churches of exceptional dignity, the plan is cruciform, with a central tower. Although, at the exterior, the architect seems to have insisted that the plan should be kept uniform, just as at Tynemouth, where we have the rich work of the east end appearing also at the west end of a humble parochial nave, yet, as at the latter place, the interior is divided into splendid and homely provinces. The more sumptuous work at Darlington stops with the eastern bay of the nave, and there must, one would think, have been some sort of screen at that point, though no trace of it now exists. Marks of a screen of some height across the collegiate church of Middleham occur at the same place. At Tynemouth, a massive stone screen, through which two doors penetrate, crosses the church at the extreme end of the nave. There is a tradition at Darlington that there was a screen across the nave at its west end, further eastward than the modern one which used to sever the western bay only. The Glossary of Architecture remarks that "in some churches there are indications of the west end of the nave having been parted off from the rest, either by a step in the floor, a division of the architecture, or some other line of demarcation; it was considered to be somewhat less sacred than the other portions of the buildings." At Darlington the distinction had perhaps a local significance. In the 15th century it was supposed that the dedication of churches to st. Cuthbert identified the spots where his body had rested. Darlington church is so dedicated. Originally women were forbidden to set foot even in the cemeteries attached to them, but, as time rolled on, provision was made for females in the west end of the cathedral, and doubtless the same relaxation of rule would prevail in smaller churches.

There is reason to believe that an interruption in the erection of the fabric took place. In the north wall of the chancel, below the first tier of windows, mr. Pritchett, the architect entrusted with the restoration of that part of the church, found the effects of exposure to the weather of a winter or two at least. During the interruption the style would be rapidly changing, and the circumstance doubtless accounts for some anomalies which, strangely enough, occur less in the upper stage of the north transept than in the chancel itself. We have mouldings intended for square abaci resting on round ones, some of which present the transitional volute below them, and show that the capital had been altered. But, after the best consideration available has been given to the subject, we may be inclined to think that the work was resumed by Pudsey

himself, and that the church, if not quite finished by him, had made very considerable progress under William the Engineer, the bishop's second architect, who survived his master; Pudsey dying in 1194. The work is the most advanced in style in the south transept, still it is not typical Early English. Putting the early detail in the chancel out of sight, as being of materials prepared before the interruption, we cannot help noticing that above the tower arches we have the nutmeg ornament, decidedly an early detail, and that the uppermost story of the chancel, near the tower, presents shafts arising out of shafts, a peculiarity found in the same position at Hexham church, a building which also shows transitional work at the east end, and progresses by imperceptible gradations of style into comparatively rich transepts. At the west end of Darlington church we have an effigy of a female in the costume of Berengaria, the queen of Richard I. It was found in the chancel.

The tower arches were probably only intended to carry a spire constructed of wood and lead, but in the 14th century they received the weight of the stone spire and its supports. Upon this addition the whole fabric seems to have given away. The windows of the transepts and choir near the tower on its east side were built up, and something was done internally to its eastern piers, but the two western piers of the tower were left to bear the brunt as best they might. In the nave the walls of the aisles were heightened and rebuilt, the old doorways being retained. The choir at this time received the addition of three sedilia, and two niches in an unusual position, namely in the east wall, the northern one being plain, the southern one containing a basin divided into two parts, apparently for some double use of the piscina. The sedilia are identical in style with the renovated walls of the aisles, and bear the shield (*an estoile*) of Henry de Ingleby, rector of Haughton, near Darlington, and prebendary in Darlington church. He died in 1375, having inserted a low-side window of the same style in his church of Haughton, which window was discovered lately. The same style also appears in the Fulthorp porch of Grindon church, in the southern aisle of Easington church, and in the church of Monkwearmouth. The windows of the Darlington aisles seem to have been glazed with coloured glass immediately after their change. They contained the arms of bishop Hatfield (1345 to 1381), those of Beauchamp, lord of Barnard-castle, and a coat *B. a lion rampant O.*, which is given for the older Nevilles of Essex, and which is not yet identified with the north country at that period.

In the blocked windows north and south of the choir are two curious lights, the south one having a trefoiled head, the north one presenting

a cinquefoiled head, and a cinquefoiled transom. These lights would be of little or no use as rood-lights, and yet are too high for confessional purposes. For almsgiving they might serve, if the dispenser had a loft inside, or persons outside might *hear* service through them. The subject is very perplexing. Mr. Hodgson is of opinion that these and low-side windows were for the communication of light from lamps to affright evil spirits, after the use of lamps in continental churchyards. No opinion is here offered as to an usage which was so soon lost to the memory of the church which adopted it.

What had been for the strengthening of the tower seems to have been insufficient, or thought to have been so, and, between 1381 and 1407, a substantial screen of stone was thrown across the church under the choir arch, after the fashion of cathedral screens, not perhaps more solidly than ordinary rood-screens in such a position, but resembling the arch of a bridge more than usual, in consequence of the aperture being ribbed transversely instead of being vaulted diagonally. There is the usual rood-stair in the south end of this screen, and at the restoration some indications appeared, on the top, of the places where the rood or crucifix and the accompanying images of Mary and John had been placed.

On the west front of the screen, and above the point of the arch, but not reaching across the whole of the screen, if I understand the subsequent language rightly, were five shields carved in sandstone. As to their style, I need hardly remind you that they were executed in the most palmy days of heraldry. The shields were these :—

1. Quarterly A. and G. a bend S. charged with three escallop-shells A.—EURE, Lord of Witton-on-Wear.
2. Barry of eight A. and B. three chaplets of four roses each G.—GREYSTOCK, Lord of Coniscliffe and Neasham.
3. Quarterly :
 - i. iv. O. a lion rampant B.—PERCY, Earl of Northumberland.
 - ii. iii. G. three lucys or pikefish A.—LUCY, Lord of Cocker-mouth, quartered by the Earl after his marriage with Maud Lucy between 1381 and 1384.
4. G. three escallop-shells A.—DACRE, Lord of Dacre.
5. Quarterly :
 - i. iv. B. semy of fleurs de lis O.—OLD FRANCE, disused by Henry V., who gives only three fleurs on his seal.
 - ii. iii. G. three lions passant guardant O.—ENGLAND.

The Percys, in after days, held a burgage in Darlington, and the other persons entitled to these shields may or may not have been burgesses, seeing that Darlington was on a great thoroughfare. The only landowner, properly so called, but such in a trifling way, in the parish,

among them, was sir Ralph Eure, who, among the many odds and ends with which he had increased his hereditary possessions, held three acres in Derlyngton, called Hell, a messuage and half an oxgang in Blakwell, and a messuage and a place (whatever that may mean) in Cockerton. As to Dacre, he was not even a neighbouring proprietor, for we are dealing with times long before the period of the great match between Dacre and Greystock of Coniscliffe.

Little tenements, for the mere convenience of travellers, would not account for the presence of the arms of the king and four lords in exclusion of those of the Nevilles and other distinguished neighbours. Rather do the shields betoken substantial subscriptions from outsiders, placed by reason of liberality of purse and without regard to the local parishioners, who would, doubtless, be bled at much less uncertain intervals of time.

The date of the heraldry is confined between that of the quartering of Lucy (1381-4) and the forfeiture of the estate of Maud Lucy's husband, the earl of Northumberland, in 1407. The Percy lands were not restored until the reign of Henry V., when the old arms of France had disappeared. If it could be assumed that the stalls of the chancel which bear the arms of bishop Langley, who acceded in 1406, were contemporaneous with the screen against which they turn, the date would be reduced to much greater nicety, the earl of Northumberland having been slain in rebellion in March, 1407. One would like to clinch so pretty a piece of architectural evidence, and to think that the arms of Langley, "*sculptum super primum stallum ad introitū chori*," were on the screen itself. But we must not close our eyes to the likelihood that there would be some short lapse of time between the construction of the stonework and its supplement of work in wood, that the cardinal's arms would probably be on the destroyed wainscot above the stalls or on the first stall itself, and that the minority in the Dacre family did not cease until 1408-9, when the inheritance was delivered to Thomas Dacre, the heir. The facts are now fairly before us; but we had better not come to any opinion on this point. We do not know how much pocket-money was allowed to wards for expenditure on rood-screens and such objects, but Darlington was a very likely spot to see its expenditure. When Dunbar, the good old Scottish poet, speaks of "preaching in Derntoun kirk, and eik in Canterbury," he proves, by no uncertain sound, that the church of Darlington was famous in the minds of travellers.

Next in order of time come, of course, the stalls in the chancel, with "bench ends full five inches thick," the "most massive specimens" ever met with by Billings, who remarks that "their numerous edge mouldings would seem rather to belong to a large archway." They

bear the arms of cardinal Langley, and his badge (an eagle). The misereres present a legend resembling that of Jack the Giant-killer, also a royal figure with two sceptres (st. Oswald, king of Bernicia and Deira) supported by collared griffins, and other subjects. The whole arrangements are suggestive of an intention by Langley to re-found the college, an act effected by his successor, bishop Neville, in 1439, two years after his accession. The vicar was made dean, and as the parish was rapidly increasing, and the transepts were chantries, it seems not improbable that the parochial part of the church was extended to the new stone screen, even if the whole church did not then become parochial, which it possibly did.

Before 1509, a treasure-house, probably where the present vestry stands, on the south side of the chancel, had arisen, and an easter sepulchre, to the north of the altar, can hardly be assigned to an earlier date. Leland, about 1539, saw "an exceeding long and fair altar stone of variegated marble, that is, black marked with white spots, at the high altar in the collegiate parish church of Darlington." There is perhaps no very distinct evidence as to whether one altar generally served both parts of the double churches. At Darlington one would infer that such was the case.

After the Reformation, the Darlington rood-loft assumes a new interest. The history of church architecture previous to that event had to be elucidated by Rickman, a quaker. That of our churches since demands the attention of some other desperately honest dissenter. At present the antiquary will act wisely if he confines his attention to the printed rubrics and canons, and the various injunctions collected in the valuable blue-book of 1868, in attempting to grope his way freed from strange questions of doctrine. While, from the first, when it was determined to allow the chancels to remain, "as they have done in time past," there appears to have been a lingering affection for those parts of the churches, every arrangement was, nevertheless, made so as to be subservient to the convenience of the congregations. In 1547, Edward VI. enjoins that when there was no sermon, the pater noster, the creeds, and ten commandments were to be recited after the gospel, but "in the pulpits," "to the intent the people may learn the same ; " and so also, in the time of high mass, the epistle and gospel were to be read "in the pulpit, or in such convenient place as the people may hear the same." The prayer-book of 1549 still speaks of an altar, and of the priest "being in the quire" for the ordinary prayers, and after the offertory the partakers are to "tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place nigh the quire, the men on the one side, and the women on the other side. All other (that mind not to receive the said holy com-

munion) shall depart out of the quire, except the ministers and clerks." The order of communion in 1548 speaks of the administration to the people "still reverently kneeling," and of the priest going "again to the altar," or "God's board," as the previous injunctions also call it. Doubtless, therefore, from the first, the communicants were "conveniently placed for the receiving of the holy sacrament," as the rubric still has it, and so remained until, as it also has it, the celebrant, after delivering the elements, returned. The locality of the altar, under these circumstances, was of small consequence; but matters were greatly simplified by the destruction of the altars and the substitution of tables, which in 1552, as now, are directed to be placed, "at the communion time," "in the body of the church, or in the chancel, where morning prayer and evening prayer be appointed to be said," the ordinary prayers being said "in such place of the church, chapel, or chancel, as the people may best hear." The priest was to stand then, as now, "at the north side of the table," and, therefore, it was intended to stand, and in those days it doubtless did stand, east and west, as it stood in after times, though not lately. When there was no communion, the priest would follow the injunctions, and read the commandments, &c., from the pulpit. The college at Darlington had now fallen, and no question seems to have arisen about the rights of the inhabitants to use the chancel; but the parish of Darlington being large, and the chancel small, prayers would naturally be said, and the table placed, in the nave, and so the screen was no nuisance. The chancels of collegiate churches, where they had not been parochialised, were frequently destroyed, as at Howden. It does not appear where the tables were placed, during the reign of Edward, out of communion time, but we may assume that they would, as enjoined afterwards by Elizabeth and James, be taken to the east end as the most convenient place between communions.

The screen at Darlington, from its constructional character, was in no danger from the orders to convert rood-lofts into partitions between chancels and churches, by removing the gallery portions. Its rood and images would alone suffer, and the service, after Mary's time, would have to be conducted again as it had been in Edward's days. The injunctions of Elizabeth direct that the table shall be set where the altar stood, "saving when the communion of the sacrament is to be distributed, at which time the same shall be so placed within the chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently, and in more number, communicate with the said minister. And, after the communion done, from time to time the same holy table to be placed where it stood before." Whether the restriction

to chancels was intentional or not, or whether it is enlarged by the prayer-book or not, the clause agrees with bishop Middleton's injunctions of 1583. "When there is a communion to be ministered, that the communion table be placed at the lower end of the chancel, as near unto the people as may be convenient, and when the ministration is done, remove it to the upper end of the said chancel." In large churches a low pulpit was to be provided "in the body of the church" for divine service. In smaller churches, some convenient seat "without the chancel door" was allowed, and, where the churches were very small, archbishop Grindal, in 1571, considered it to suffice that the minister stand in his accustomed stall in the quire, so that a convenient desk or lectern with a room to turn his face towards the people be there provided." Bishop Middleton enjoined "that there be no recourse by the minister to the communion table, to say any part of service there, saving only where is a communion to be ministered, for it doth retain a memory of the idolatrous mass. For the avoiding whereof, all the service shall be said by the minister in his own seat or pulpit, with his face turned down towards the people." And Grindal "provided also that the prayers and other service appointed for the ministration of the holy communion be said and done at the communion table, except the epistle and gospel, which shall be read in the said pulpit or stall, and also the ten commandments when there is no communion." In Elizabeth's time, therefore, the ministers of Darlington, following the law and practice of the church of England, would, notwithstanding the screen, be always fully heard and seen, as no part of their ministrations, in or out of communion time, would be performed at the east end of the chancel.

King James's canons of 1603 agree with Elizabeth's Injunctions in saying that the table is to stand in its certain place, saving when communion was to be administered, when it is to be placed within the church or chancel for the same reason that Elizabeth assigns. Accordingly archbishop Bancroft in 1605 asks whether "at the communion time—is the table then placed in such convenient sort within the chancel or church as that the minister may be best heard in his prayer or administration, and that the greater number may communicate?" These last words probably refer to the question as to whether the use of the nave or chancel would be most efficient, the present practice of successive rows of communicants along a rail being unknown, rail there being none, and all the communicants having been disposed, according to rubric, in readiness to receive before the administration began. In 1599, archdeacon King inquires "whether the communion be administered monthly where the parishes be great, or else so often every year

as that the parishioners may receive three times at the least yearly; and in 1603 bishop Thornborough asks "whether your parson, &c., doth—minister the communion—to any of his parishioners—not in their several seats, where they usually sit in the church, but kneeling in the seats severally appointed in your several churches for the communicants to receive the same." The fine post-Reformation fittings of such chancels as that of Brancepeth had probably reference to sacramental purposes.

Towards the end of James I.'s reign a change of practice had set in. Advantage of a vacancy of the see was taken in 1617 to remove the communion table in Durham cathedral from the midst of the quire to the east end, "as far as possible from the people," says Peter Smart 11 years afterwards, "where no part at all of the evening prayer is ever said, and but a piece of the morning, and that never till of late." Smart informs us that the direction from east to west was the custom of all reformed churches, and had been observed in Durham cathedral from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, save when the rebels possessed the church (in the Rising of the North). After Charles I.'s accession in 1625, matters ran fast indeed. About 1631, archdeacon Kent makes this extraordinary addition to Bancroft's lawful inquiry of 1605: "To that end [*i. e.* that the minister may be best heard, and that the greater number may communicate!] doth it [the table] ordinarily stand up at the east end of the chancel, where the altar in former times stood; the ends thereof being placed north and south." In 1636, bishop Wren enjoins the same illegal act: "that the communion table in every church do always stand close under the east wall of the chancel, the ends thereof north and south, unless the ordinary give particular directions otherwise. And that the rail be made before it, according to the archbishop's late injunctions, reaching across from the north wall to the south wall, above one yard in height, and so thick with pillars that dogs may not get in. That all communicants come up reverently, and kneel before the rail. That the minister's desk do not stand with the back to the chancel, nor too remote or far from it." By 1638 another element had been introduced. Bishop Duppa asks if the "communion table or altar is set, according to the practice of the ancient church, upon an ascent;" and in the same year bishop Montagu enquires if the table is "fixedly set, in such convenient sort and place within the chancel as hath been appointed by authority, according to the practice of the ancient church, that is, at the east end of the chancel, close unto the wall, upon an ascent or higher ground, that the officiating priest may be best seen and heard of the communicants, in that sacred action?" And then he proceeds

to treat the observance of the law as something improper: "Whether is the communion table removed down at any time, either for, or without communion, into the lower part of the chancel or body of the church? by whom, at whose instance, direction, or command is it done?"

There was this inconvenience about the new acts of the clergy. They found that their chancels were too small. Montagu, who asks if the "parishioners sit bare all service time, kneel down in their seats, bowing towards the chancel and communion table," has also to enquire as follows:—"are the names of such as intend to receive taken by the minister over night—that he may proportion the multitude of receivers according to the capacity of his chancel, and not be pestered or crowded with multitudes, who thereby may be occasioned and desire to sit in their pews in the church, and not come up and draw near unto the altar." It is plain that Montagu intended the whole of the communicants to be in the chancel, for he directs that the exhortation is to be read "before the communicants ascend up into the chancel out of their seats in the church," and that the "draw near" clause is to be said "when after this exhortation the communicants are come up into the chancel before they dispose themselves to kneel in their several places, which are orderly and decently to be appointed for them." That anything like the present practice was wholly unknown is evident from other questions whether the sacrament was given "to every communicant, not standing, sitting, or going up and down, but humbly expecting till it be brought and given to him in the place appointed for him by the ordinary,"—and again: "Do all your parishioners draw near, and—come to the Lord's table—and not (after the most contemptuous and unholy usage of some, if men did rightly consider) sit still in their seats or pews, to have the blessed body and blood of our Saviour go up and down to seek them all the church over?"

The same state of matters is illustrated by the subtle canons passed at archbishop Laud's illegal synod in 1640. Suppressing the context of Elizabeth's injunctions as to the position during communion, and only noting her order that the tables should stand in the place where the altars stood, and suppressing the canons of 1603 also, he judges that place to be convenient, admitting the matter to be indifferent, and saving "the general liberty left to the bishop by law, during the time of administration." For severing the tables with rails the reason given is the irreverent behaviour of many people, "some leaning, others casting their hats, and some sitting upon, some standing, and other sitting under the communion table in time of divine service." The insufficiency of some chancels to hold all communicants is

also alluded to. "According to the word of the service-book—'draw near,' &c.—all communicants—shall draw near and approach to the holy table, there to receive the divine mysteries, which have heretofore in some places been unfitly carried up and down by the minister, unless it shall be otherwise appointed in respect of the incapacity of the place or other inconvenience." It is observable that Laud does not venture in express terms to condemn the existing law that the table was to be brought from its extreme eastern position during communion, a practice which was not necessarily inconsistent with the table being enclosed with rails at other times.

Let us, however, do Laud justice. We may not unreasonably suspect, from Smart's silence as to the removal to and fro, that at Durham cathedral and elsewhere the opposite party had also transgressed the law by having the table continually standing east and west in the body of the church or chancel, and never removing it to the east end at all. During the early days of the long parliament, in 1640-1, the house of lords ordered the bishops to take care that the communion-table "do stand decently in the ancient place where it ought to do by the law, and as it hath done for the greater part of these three score years last past." In 1641 bishop Williams¹ asks, "Doth your said communion table stand in the ancient place where it ought to do, or where it hath done for the greatest part of these 60 years last past, or hath it been removed to the east end, and placed altar-wise, and by whom, and whose authority hath it been so placed?" "Do you know of any that refuse to give the communion to any that will not come up and receive it at the rails?" "Are all the steps raised up in the chancel towards the altar (as they call it) within these 15 years last past levelled? or whose fault is it that they are not so?"

With some, possibly with many, of the protestant dissenters, the primitive and free church methodists for instance, something of the old order of the church of England is retained. For the communion the recipients readjust themselves into alternate pews, giving room for the convenient administration by the minister. The present practice in the church of England, varying in detail, of table-fulls of people filling the line of rail in succession, and thence departing to their usual seats, was probably of gradual growth. One of our clerical associates

¹ In the 3rd Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, p. 214, will be found a note of a letter from Williams to the minister of Grantham, insisting on his having a table and not an altar, and that it must stand altar-wise, but that the minister must officiate at the north side and not at the north end, and that in the first and second services he is not to officiate at the table, but in the place of the church or chancel where he may be most conveniently heard.

remembers seeing the stalls at st. Mary's, Oxford, laid with "houceling-cloths" for the communicants in readiness for the sacrament being brought round, and states that the same ancient custom was retained in ordination services at the cathedral there. Rare examples of churches having the table standing in an east and west position exist. The wording of the prayer-book, leaving it an open question (had we not had the evidence of the practice in Elizabeth's time) as to the position of table and clergyman during the reading of part of the communion service when there was no communion, but speaking very decidedly as to his position on the north side of the table where there was communion, his ordering the communicants in a body, his return to the table after ministration, and the position of the table itself during communion in the body of the church or chancel where prayers were said, was not altered at the Restoration. In 1662 bishop Hacket asks, "Have you a comely table placed conveniently in church or chancel?" Yet in the same year bishop Wren asks: "Are there steps or ascents in your chancel up to the communion table? Have you also a decent rail of wood, or some other comely inclosure covered with cloth or silk, placed handsomely above those steps before the holy table, near one yard high—with two convenient doors—and if it be a rail, are the pillars or ballusters thereof so close that dogs may not anywhere get in?" If dogs might not get in, neither might they get out, and a recent work on pews gives a singular instance of the enclosure being used to contain the dogs of the lord of the manor during service. In 1710 bishop Fuller asks whether the sacrament was administered so often that the parishioners might receive at least three times a year, and the frontispiece of Wheatly's Church of England Man's Companion, in 1714, shows all the communicants, in five rows, kneeling on the chancel floor in front of the rails. With the curious reasons there given for the general disobedience of ecclesiastical law, this summary of the history of position which has been rather forced upon me may appropriately conclude, after noting that one of our most distinguished south-country archaeologists has suggested, as a compromise between protest and practice, that the table might well be brought down into the nave once a year, after the manner of protecting disused public and private rights, for the purpose, as intended, of clearly distinguishing it from its predecessor the altar. Wheatly's reasons to which I have alluded are these. The first (which Wheatly himself has his misgivings about, thinking that in large towns willing ministers would find recipients) is as to the minister reading the communion service partially at the table, although there is no communion. "The minister, in obedience to the church's order (!), goes up to the Lord's table,

and there begins the service appointed for the communion, and goes on as far as he can, till he come to the actual celebration of it ; and if he stops there it is only because there are none, or not a sufficient number of persons to communicate with him. For if there were he is ready to administer it to them. And therefore if there be no communion on any sunday or holy-day in the year, the people only are to be blamed. The church has done her part in ordering it, and the minister his in observing that order. And if the people would do theirs, too, the holy communion would be constantly celebrated in every parish church in England, on every sunday and holy-day." This is inconsistent with previous arrangements for arranging the communicants' receptions according to the size of chancels, but let it pass. The other reason is rather clever. After giving the injunction about the removal of the table for more convenient hearing and communicating, and the placing of it afterwards where it stood before, he argues thence that the latter was its proper place, and that wherever the churches are so built as that the minister can be heard and conveniently administer at the place where the table usually stands, he is not bound to remove it, but is rather obliged to administer in the chancel. And further, if the table be in the middle of the church, and the people consequently round about, the minister cannot turn himself to the people, as he is sometimes directed to do, any more at one time than another.

This last argument is sufficiently answered by the orders to have the table at the lower end of the chancel, so that, standing at the the north side of the table, the minister would have to turn to the people, eastward or westward, as he might have arranged them in chancel or in nave ; and, as to the preceding one, Darlington church is not so built that the minister can be well heard if he retires from his congregation to the extreme end of the chancel, even did the premises justify Wheatly's ingenious deduction ; and the alteration of churches and the destruction of objects of interest are not required where the clergyman, even on Wheatly's assumption, has an option. What may be the number of communicants at Darlington church, and whether, with decent arrangement, it would, by means of monthly or weekly communions, enable them to communicate thrice a year, are best known to the ministers.

From ruminating upon the probable arrangements at Darlington in common with other churches let us revert to the screen, the existence of which has been considered as interfering with the edification of the congregations in the nave.

Tradition knew it as an organ loft. I see no reason why, as over the quire door in Durham cathedral, there might not be pairs of organs,

and a lectern upon it, even in pre-Reformation times, in company with the rood. In 1634, the churchwardens paid 6*d.* to George Langstraffe for washing the organs, not valuing them as printed by Surtees. The instrument at Sedgefield in our own days has borne no trace of such antiquity, but, as we have no further evidence until the 18th century, there may be truth in the idea, that an organ was removed from Darlington to Sedgefield. In 1707, the roofs of the nave and transept were somewhat lowered. In 1748, the east gable of the chancel was rebuilt in very humble fashion, the mouldings of the windows being fortunately used as building materials; and the roof, then or before, was flattened. In 1750 the spire, which had been struck by lightning, was rebuilt. And still the screen was to the fore in its pristine condition. But now an ugly charge was impending. Cade, the local antiquary, in his tract about Hell-kettles, in speaking of Darlington church, lamented "the destruction of the arms of benefactors to the fabric, cut in stone, and properly blazoned over the entrance into the quire, by a late reformer." Cade published his tract in 1791. He was baptized in 1734, and two years afterwards, in 1736, George Allan, the antiquary, was born. Allan fixes the date of the reformation to which Cade alludes (however lately, in 1791, the reformer may have died), in the year 1756, and the chancel, he says, is separated from the nave by a low pointed arch of three ribs, "like bridge-arches, above which is the old rood-loft. Organs were formerly placed on this loft. Tradition says they were removed from hence to Sedgefield church. The loft still retains the name of the organ-loft, and at the north end thereof there was a projecting gallery made of the painted panels of the organ case, wherein the scholars of the grammar school usually sat, and in the centre the blue coat charity boys also sat; and at the south end of the loft was placed the machinery of the clock, with a dial plate into the church. On the front of the wall, and above the point of the arch, I well remember the following escutcheons of arms were placed, all properly emblazoned. [Here the antiquary provokes the reader by drawing five blank shields.] In the year 1756, the projecting gallery and clock were taken away, and a new gallery uniformly erected with a wainscot front, and appropriated to the same purposes as before; but the said several shields of arms were all taken down, totally defaced, and, as I also remember, were sold as sandstone by the sexton."

Another place "the same purposes" are more satisfactorily defined.

1756, two galleries were erected at each end of the organ-loft for the scholars of the free school, and between them the charity boys sit. Below, against the wall, were the arms. The clock stood on the south pillar where the gallery is now erected, and was then removed into the

loft under the bells. Above this loft hang the king's arms from the roof, where they are with great propriety placed in all churches, the king being acknowledged to be the supreme head, in the temporal sense, of our protestant national church." The royal arms in our time were on the modern western screen, and were dated 1733. The old projecting gallery, with the quaint panelling of a departed organ, and the clock, might not be very satisfactory in appearance; but there was then no great organ, mounting from between them, and the five shields, sculptured in stone and coloured, (in the intervening space immediately above the arch, and not dispersed across the whole screen, if the language is rightly understood), must have produced a picturesque effect. For, as we have seen, they were carved during the best days of design and execution of heraldic works; and, if the sexton made much out of his bargain, they must, moreover, have been of considerable boldness, and probably accompanied by ornamental canopies and panelling. Seeing that Cade was aged 22, and Allan 20, when the destruction, the real motive for which is not readily intelligible, took place, it was tantalising that the five shields had, by some forgetfulness, been left unfilled in the ms. There was no idea that the matter could be carried further.

But, in a recent collation of some of Surtees's shields from Dugdale's drawings of arms at Durham cathedral and Staindrop church, it was, much to the astonishment of the examiner, found that the excellent herald had recorded the armory in Darlington church also.

He was at "Darnton" on Sept. 6, 1666, and, besides noticing cardinal Langley's arms sculptured "*super primum stallum ad introitū chori*" (which stall was, with two others, destroyed in our own days, by a curate), and the arms in the windows, already alluded to, he records as "in the church, formerly collegiate, of Darlington, *alias* Darnton," what is more to our purpose, the lost heraldry of the five shields, "*sculpta super murum supra introitū chori*," as I have already described them. Cade's notion, that they were those of benefactors to the fabric, might be a mere guess; but, for reasons previously submitted, we may put it to his credit that he was correct in his surmise.

After a long reign of fiddles and pitchpipes, a good 500*l.* organ was placed on the screen in 1821. The then east gable was so objectionable that no complaint of it being hidden could well be made. Billings considered the screen to be, as far as he knew, unique. However, in 1862, when Mr. Scott was busy with the restoration of the nave and transepts, there was a strange cry for the destruction of the screen. Intelligent persons, sane on every other point, went mad on this one. A plea was put in for the preservation of the collegiate

arrangements, which the Auckland people had, in their case, foolishly destroyed, and Mr. Scott did not allow his fair fame to be imperilled by the dull whims of churchwardens or commissioners. He, of course, at once answered that, although his assistant had mentioned that the idea had been entertained, he had not supposed that it had seriously been so entertained, and that it certainly must not be thought of. In 1865, however, when the chancel was restored, and when the details, which had been entombed in 1748, enabled a faithful reproduction of the beautiful east gable, there was again an outcry and a demand that the building should be deprived of its historical and picturesque interest. In some way it again escaped the fate of Durham cathedral, and retained the royal and baronial benefaction. One might have supposed that those who wished to remove the screen would now have taken measures to show the pretty termination of the church to as much advantage as possible. On the contrary, an organ with appurtenances, larger and more hideous than before, was placed upon the screen, to the serious detriment of the appearance of the improved chancel, both within and without. And now the question of sacramental proprieties cropped up in an amusing way.

Archdeacon Thorp, among divers other gifts of ornaments, good, bad, and indifferent, to churches, gave a fair oaken table for communion purposes to Darlington church, identifying it with himself as usual. After the restoration of the church this "decent table standing on a frame, for a communion-table" (though not as capable of removal as might be desired), was discarded, and it now forms a vestry table, denuded of its "carpet, silk, or other decent covering," while at the east end of the chancel we see an undignified object, like a box or packing case, of doubtful material, probably of some wood cheaper and less appropriate than oak, if we may judge from the care with which, in communion time and out of it, it is closely covered on the top and ends, and at least one side, with some kind of velvet. There is a cross on the velvet on its side. It also is not conveniently formed for removal at the sacramental administration, and it apparently was in the church at the re-opening, because there were complaints that the whole congregation could not see "a communion table, with its rich covering, on the front of which" was a cross; that the service was a sort of pantomime, being nearly all performed in the chancel beyond the bridge; and that the clergyman's utterances were inarticulate as regarded the congregation in the nave. The newspaper recorder of the day, possibly a dissenter, ignorant of rubric and canon, said with delightful simplicity:—"It is contrary we suppose to ecclesiastical *etiquette*, or we should suggest that the reading and praying clergymen

should take their stand outside the chancel somewhere by the pulpit, then the congregation will have a chance of hearing what is being said."

On this restoration, the panels containing the names of donors of charities which had in modern times supplanted cardinal Langley's paneling above the stalls in the chancel, were placed against the vestry wall. It was not attempted to reproduce the cardinal's work, the effect of which may be realized at Staindrop. Since then some ugly warming apparatus has been erected in front of the stalls. The east windows are devoid, not of colour, but of stained glass, and altogether the chancel, in spite of its fabrical excellence, presents an unsatisfactory aspect. In its present state, or, perhaps, in any state, it must, one would think, be very inconvenient for the lawful administration of the holy communion in so important a parish as that of Darlington.

W. H. D. L.

NOTES OF AN EXCAVATION OF A TURRET ON THE ROMAN WALL.

BETWEEN the stations of Cilurnum and Procolitia, the 6th and 7th *per lineam Valli*, and between the Mile Castles at Towertye and at the Limestone Corner, have been recently exposed to view the remains of one of the turrets on the Roman Wall, hitherto concealed by an accumulated mass of debris and a dense thicket of mediæval copsewood.

It is difficult to account for the total disappearance of the numerous turrets which must have originally existed, if indeed they possessed the solidity of these remains, but it is possible that many of them were placed on the Wall itself, and disappeared with its upper courses. Before describing the remains of this turret it may be useful to advert to the historical notices of this particular feature of the Roman line of fortification.

Camden, who visited the Roman Wall in company with Sir Robert Cotton in the year 1599, is the first historian who supplies us with any of its structural details. In his *Britannia*, under the head of "Vallum sive Murus Picticus," he thus expresses himself: "The Wall had a number of castles, separated a mile from each other, which they call Castle Steads, and inside the Wall little fortified towns, which at this day they call Chesters (the foundations of which, of square form, are seen in some places), and placed between these were Turrets, in which the soldier posted could watch the barbarians."¹

¹ *Castella murus habuit crebriora millenis passibus disparata quæ "Castle Steads" vocant et interius oppidula munita quæ "Chesters" hodie vocant, quorum radices quadratâ formâ alicubi visuntur et his Turres interpositas in quibus dispositus miles Barbaris immineret.*—Pa. 652. Folio edition of 1607.

Three of the Roman stations, Cilurnum, Vindolana, and Æsica, still retain the name of Chesters.

Camden made a very imperfect inspection of the Wall, and does not seem to have prepared himself by any previous study of the subject, or he would not have identified Ponteland with Pons Ælii, and Ambleside with Amboglanna, stations *per lineam Valli*. He seems to have been led by no guide but sound.

The Scottish antiquarian, Alexander Gordon, visited the Roman Wall in company with Baron Clerk in 1715, and in 1725 he published his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, and to him we are indebted for the earliest description of the actual state of the remains of the Wall. He identifies many of the stations, and points out the sites of many of the mile castles; but, in his progress from the eastern extremity westward, he does not appear to have met with the remains of a single turret till he reached that part of the Wall which is between Cilurnum and Procolitia. At a point 1,329 yards west of Cilurnum (which station he mistakes for Hunnum) he found joining to the Wall a "little exploratory turret of hewn free stone, very little more than 12 feet in length, and something less in breadth, and above five courses of stone in height." Proceeding westward he meets with another of these turrets at Towertye; he then comes to the Towertye Mile Castle, and adds, "still more westerly is another small exploratory turret of the same dimensions as the former."

No traces of the two first mentioned turrets now exist, all vestiges of them having been effectually erased by the plough. The last is evidently identical with that which has now been discovered. For want of excavation, Gordon in his day would see these remains very imperfectly. Little more than the remains of the south wall of the turret would then be visible, and would at that date retain five courses of stones.

Horsley, whose *Britannia Romana* was published in 1732, accompanied by a rough map of the Roman Wall, lays down on the map the three turrets mentioned by Gordon, and observes on the subject of the turrets as follows:—

"The smaller turrets (in Latin *turres*) have been more generally and entirely destroyed than the castella, so that 'tis hard to find three of them anywhere together with certainty; the distance between two where it was thought surest was measured and found to be near 14 chains or 308 yards. It seems, therefore, most probable that there have been four of these between every two castella at equal distances from the castella and from one another. These exploratory turrets, or watch towers, seem only to have been four yards square at the bottom."

The Rev. John Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland, whose able and laborious description of the Roman Wall was published in 1840, mentions having seen in 1833 the remains of one of these turrets, at a point about 300 yards west of the station of Amboglanna (Burdoswald), the walls of which, 34 inches thick, were standing of the height of six courses of stone. He adds, "All of it in 1837 was removed."

Dr. Bruce, the last and greatest authority on the subject of the Roman Wall, who published first in 1851, found still in existence some trifling remains of the turret described by Mr. Hodgson. He also noticed "a break in the Wall a little to the west of Harehill, in which a turret or small quadrangular building is placed apparently independent of the Wall and projecting northward beyond it." This feature is also noticed by Mr. Henry McLauchlan, the accurate surveyor employed by the late noble patron of this Society, Algernon, fourth Duke of Northumberland, to survey and map the Wall, and who does not seem to have met with any other vestiges of these turrets on the whole line.

The recent disinterment of one of these turrets, complete in its outline, must necessarily be interesting to those who have given their attention to the Roman works between the Tyne and the Solway. For such the following details are intended; for the general reader they have no interest.

This turret is 530 yards west of the Towertye Mile Castle, and therefore does not support the theory of Horsley, that the turrets were placed at equal distances of 308 yards from the mile castles and from each other.

The Roman Wall, in approaching this turret both from the east and from the west, is of the breadth of 7 feet, but for the space of 13 feet on each side of the turret the Wall is increased in thickness to 9 feet 4 inches by means of a projection of 2 feet 4 inches on its south side. The inside measurement of the turret corresponds very nearly with the statements of Gordon and Horsley. The precise dimensions are 11 feet 10 inches in length from north to south and 11 feet 4 inches in breadth from east to west. The turret projects from the south face of the Wall to the extent of 10 feet. Its southern and western walls are of the thickness of 3 feet 4 inches; its eastern wall is of the thickness of 4 feet 2 inches; it is recessed into the great Wall to the extent of 5 feet to the north, on which side there are 17 courses of stone in situ. In a part of the west wall there are 15 courses, and in part of the east wall 10 courses in situ. The south wall has been removed to its lowest course. The entrance to the turret is by a doorway 3 feet wide, through

the south wall ; the door cases and pivot holes are very distinctly marked. There are no remains of a stair, which would be necessary to enable the soldiers to ascend the tower. The presumption is that the stair has been of wood, and has (like the stairs in the houses at Pompeii) perished. The woodcut correctly shews the present appearance of this turret.



This excavation has also had the effect of favourably exposing to view about 110 yards in length of the Roman Wall, throughout which from 5 to 7 courses of stone remain undisturbed. Amongst the debris on the north side of the Wall was found a centurial stone represented by this woodcut.



Every letter is distinct except the first letter of the name of the centurion, which resembles the letter A, and the reading of the inscription would thus be "Centuria Anoni Felicis." Professor Hubner suggests as the

proper reading "Antonii," which might have been produced by a ligature of letters now effaced, and then the inscription would commemorate the work of the Company of Antonius Felix.

Coins of Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian, and Constantine the Great were turned up in the course of the digging. It is singular that none of the coins of the numerous intervening emperors have been found. Fragments of mill stones, a large quantity of the coarser descriptions of pottery, some Samian ware and broken glass, and bones and horns of animals, have been met with amongst the debris, indicating that the turrets, as well as the stations and mile castles, were provisioned by the Roman garrison.

May 2, 1873.

JOHN CLAYTON.

ON THE DEDICATIONS OF THE TWO NOTABLE ALTARS FOUND AT CONDERCUM.

THE dedications on the well-known Benwell altars,

DEO ANOCITICO

and

DEO ANTENOCITICO,

have long seemed to me not to present to us denominations of any new divinities hitherto unknown as objects of Roman worship or veneration, but rather descriptive adjectival epithets indicating the attributes of a particular god, or possibly of two gods.

But it was only in September, 1873, that I distinctly perceived the Greek characteristics of these designations, whilst conning them over in the pages of *Lapidarium Septentrionale*.

Moreover it was manifestly not improbable that in the original inscriptions some distinctive feature might accompany the first o in either word, showing it to be not a simple o, but diphthongal and representing œ. Should this be so, then firm footing would be found, as we should have before us adjectival formations originating from the familiar noun *oikos*.

On visiting the altars at Condercum a few days subsequently, the compound character formed by the interblending of oc in ANTENOCITICO was found to present to the reader an elegantly and deeply-cut oval line, occupying the centre of the o, and being in fact a sort of iota-inscript, horizontally inserted.

In the other case, that of ANOCITICUS, the space between the o and the c is somewhat wider than between any of the other letters, and out-

side the dexter circumference of the o there is an indentation of the stone surface, as if by some accidental lesion, just where we might expect a small i or e to have been affixed to the o, to form it into a diphthong.

So that in this case we have only the negation of evidence either for or against the presence of a diphthognal feature, before that injury to the surface was done.

After this inspection I felt no difficulty in reading

ANŒCITICO

and

ANTENOICITICO.

These words are Greek adjectives regularly formed from the verbal noun *οικίσις*, which signifies the building or construction of a house or houses, or founding of a colony.

This noun is formed from the verb *οικίζω* to build or construct.

And from *οικίσις* an adjective *οικιτικός*, constructional, would naturally and regularly proceed, though it so happens that this adjective does not occur in the portion of Greek literature which has been preserved to us, and therefore has not found a place in our lexicons. *Constructional* itself is not in Johnson's Dictionary, folio, of 1755; yet what more legitimate English adjectival formation can there be?

But in the epithet or designation, ANŒCITICO, given upon one of the altars before us, to the god to whom it is dedicated, we have to deal with the adjective, not alone and by itself, but as carrying also the familiar particle *ανα*.

Now *ανοικίζω* is a well known verb signifying to rebuild, to build up. So that *ανοικίσις* would be restoration or instauration, and *ανοικιτικός*, our ANŒCITICOS, distinctly means Instaurational.

The dedication of the altar so inscribed was then,

"To the Instaurational Deity.—To the Deity who presides over Domiciliary Establishment and Power."

In like manner we are able to arrive with certainty at the exact meaning of ANTENOECITICO by simply attending to the formative laws of the Greek language, which is not only one of the most copious and extensive, but one of the most logical, definite, and precise, ever spoken by man.

Αντοικός signifies an opposite neighbour.

Αντοικίσις would be a construction or collocation of houses opposite to each other.

Αντενοικίσις, opposite collocation of dwellings in a street or enclosure; aggrouped or interproximate construction, as if for mutual support and defence.

Consequently DEO ANTENOECITICO, will signify,—“To the god of Interproximate Occupancy;” that is occupancy in close neighbourhood; occupancy by mutual neighbourly support.

This dedication is, I conceive, high evidence to the prowess of our gallant ancestors of unsubdued Britain.

The Romans had learned by bitter experience the necessity of settling only in closely aggrouped habitations, and again of planting their principal camps and military colonies themselves in mutually supporting positions, like those on the line of the Wall.

If it be asked, why should the Romans have recourse to Greek in defining the attributes of these household divinities? The answer is—“Græcia victa ferum victorem vicit.” The fine arts were all Grecian.

There was a love of Greek literature and of Greek quotations. The education of high-born youth was often in the hands of Hellenic pedagogues. The arts of medicine and surgery—the latter Greek in its very name of *chirurgia*—were probably much exercised by men of learning and research from the Grecian portions of the empire.

Lastly, we are not without some two or three examples of Greek inscriptions in Greek letters found on the line of the Roman Wall itself, and ably reproduced in the Lapidarium Septentrionale. And may not Hardalion, the humble but honoured Domestic of Hunnum, have received his certainly Hellenic name from *ἀρεῖν θαλίαν*, *ferre epulas*?

RALPH CARR ELLISON.

May 6, 1874.

THE RUDGE CUP.

THE conjecture that this very elegant little chalice of bronze, with its beautiful external graved-work representing the mural crown, exhibited to us merely certain names of Roman camps or stations arranged consecutively so as to form a short itinerary, never seemed to me satisfactory.

There was absolutely nothing in its favour, except the bare fact that Roman itineraries have really come down to us with lists of stations, and giving the distances from one to the other.

The inscription runs thus:—A. MAIS ABALLAVA UXELODVM CAMBOGLANS BANNA. As respects Aballäva, Uxelöðum, or Uxelodünnum, and Banna or Vanna, we know that they were camps, *per lineam valli*, that is, along or near the line of The Wall; and as Banna

overlooks the Cambog, or Little Cam, we may infer that the words Camboglans Banna merely stand for Camboglannensis Banna, or more briefly Camboglannis Banna. After due consideration, I cannot read A-MAIS as if A were the preposition, whether in the sense of *from* or of *by*. Nothing but the unfortunate impression that the epigraph constituted an itinerary could have led to the acceptance of this initial A. followed by a point as a mere preposition. But if it be not such, then the important key-word Mais is not necessarily in the ablative; nay, much more naturally it falls into the dative.

Let us then take it so, and we perceive that the epigraph is donatory, and written to record the presentation of the cup by Aballäva, Uxelödum, and Camboglannis Banna. If we take Maiis as from Maii it would be a latinised British word signifying Men of the Plains, from the term Ma, Maes, a plain, still so familiar in the Welsh tongue, and which enters largely into composite names of places in the level and alluvial portions of the Cambrian Principality.

As A. is not unfrequently found to stand for amicus, we might venture to say Amicis Maiis, "To the Friendly Men of the Plains, Aballava, Uxelodum, and Banna present this cup." And it might be inferred that these Friendly Neighbours had assisted them in rearing the walls represented upon the object thus given.

But since such an interpretation of MAIS occurred to me last year, I have found so many instances of Græco-Latin adaptation and phraseology in the epigraphy of The Wall, that I deem it necessary to examine every uncertain term with regard to a possibly Hellenistic origin.

In taking this course in the present instance, I soon found that *μαραι* was the designation of the women who acted as attendants on the sick. The primary sense of the word seems to have been the more limited one of obstetrix or midwife; but the signification amplifies itself freely to that of *curatrix* or sick-nurse: and it was thus perfectly applicable to whatsoever females were in attendance in such hospitalary apartments and quarters as a Roman army was able to provide for its many wounded, ailing, and infirm, and who would be the best assistants to the medical officers, and not seldom their able substitutes. For we know that nearer to our own times, that is, in the middle ages, medicine and surgery were much in the hands of women, and were skilfully cultivated even by ladies of high birth.

I gather therefore that owing to some unusually hard fighting and a consequent accumulation of wounded soldiers, or owing to some epidemic disease, the camps at Aballäva, Uxelödum, and Camboglannis Banna had felt more than ordinary obligation and gratitude to the curatrices or nurses of their sick-quarters, and that in recognition of

signal services they conferred a number of sacrificial cups for libations, (of which this is one,) inscribed,

AMICIS MAIIS ABALLAVA VXELODVM CAMBOGLANNENSIS BANNA.

To The Kind Nurses—this cup we give,—

Aballava, Uxellodum, Camboglannese Banna.

And around the margin, outside the chalice, runs this grateful legend in fair characters, whilst the embattled mural crown graces the sides thereof, the proud recognition of the lives of defenders of the barrier, saved from impending Death :—by none surely better merited than by the Amicæ Maïæ of The Wall, on the extreme limits of the Empire in Britain.

To the kind Nurses, Three Camps jointly gave
The Mural Crown, for toils the sick to save.

In appropriate connection with the subject of the chalice found at Rudge, let us next pass to a most interesting altar found at Hexham so lately as the year 1866, inscribed

APOLLINI

MAPONO

TERENTIVS

PREFECTVS CASTRORVM .

D. D.

Now let us suppose that instead of this, we had found a stone, dedicated,—

CERERI

GEPŎNÆ :

we should have said at once, this is erected to

CERES GEPŎNA or GEAPŎNA,

that is, To Ceres who presides over Agriculture and Agriculturists. So, in like manner I say that this stone, inscribed

APOLLINI MAPŎNO

is

APOLLINI MATOPŎNO,

To Apollo the god of Surgery and Sick-nursing ;
To the Therapeutic Apollo.

And the altar is dedicated by the Præfect of the Camp, the officer specially in charge of the tents or huts of the soldiers, of the baggage, and unquestionably also of the arrangements for the sick and the wounded.¹

¹ It is well worthy of remark that Horsley thought Hexham might occupy, possibly, the site of Ptolemy's Epiacum.

Lastly, we have an altar inscribed,—

DEO MAPONO,—

by four German soldiers, whose names are given, and which are nowise inconsistent with their nationality. They are apparently names of four private soldiers, who concurred in erecting this plain and simple stone, in grateful consciousness, as we may well believe, of a superintending Power, which had brought them through some sickness, they had all undergone together.

Such are the lessons of the interior life of Roman camps, conveyed to us by the chalice found at Rudge, and by the inscriptions on the altars we have here examined.

And we may infer that the town or station denominated Maia or Maïæ in the topography of Britain by the anonymous writer of Ravenna, was a place distinguished by some establishment for curative treatment of the sick and wounded. It is mentioned as if situated near to Aballava or Avalaria, a camp which there is much reason to infer was situate where Papcastle now stands.

RALPH CARR ELLISON.

ON THE ALTAR DEDICATED BY THE SPOUSE OF FABIUS TO THE NYMPHS,

FOUND AT RISINGHAM, AND NOW AT ALNWICK CASTLE.

THE two hexameter lines which constitute the inscription upon this stone have hitherto not been completely read; and this is the only reason why it has been found impossible to understand them. It follows, of course, that no English version that has been attempted is at all worthy of acceptance.

On reperusing them in the Lapidarium one day in May or June, 1873, the oversight that had occurred in the reading and transcription suddenly disclosed itself to me. An abraded letter E had been missed, though the space which it occupied was shewn in the beautiful representation of the altar.

On the presence of that single letter being recognised the latinity becomes perfectly good and regular, and the versification correct, allowance only being made for a trifling license by which the word *somnio* is contracted into two syllables in utterance, and used as a spondee.

Instead of reading

SOMNIO PRÆMONITVS
MILES,—

let us restore

SOMNIO PRÆ MONITV SE-
MILES,—

And we are no longer mystified by an unreal and imaginary nominative. The incomprehensible soldier vanishes like vapour, and the grammatical construction of the remainder of the composition becomes easy and natural.

The relative clause, “*quæ Fabio nupta est*,” is seen to constitute the only nominative before us, and to represent and comprise its own antecedent, *illa*, or *fœmina*, as relatives in many instances do.

But it is time to advert to our new discovery, which is the name of the goddess Semilè or Semelè, the former spelling being common in Latin, though the latter form, as in accordance with the original Greek, is the more accurate. This venerable goddess was the mother of Bacchus, and was held in high honour by matrons, who were wont to adore and consult her on occasions of moment.

By the present inscription we are informed that “From the monition of Semelè in a dream, she who was the spouse of Fabius ordered this altar to be erected to those Nymphs whom she ought to adore.”

The Nymphs thus referred to are indubitably certain of the divine sisterhood who presided over conception and conjugal fertility.

It remains only to reproduce the text of the inscription as a whole.

SOMNIO PRÆ
MONITV SE-
MILES HANC
PONERE IVS-
SIT
ARAM QVÆ
FABIO NVP-
TA EST NYM-
PHIS VENE-
RANDIS.

And it is immaterial whether we read—Somnio, præmonitu Semiles, By a dream, the premonition of Semilè, or—Somnio præ monitu Semiles, Through the monition of Semilè, in a dream, &c. Let us take this last, and it runs—

Somnio, præ monitu Semiles, hanc ponere jussit
Aram, Quæ Fabio nupta est, Nymphis venerandis.

Taught in a Dream from Semelè on high,
 The Spouse of Fabius to the Nymphs drew nigh,
 To bless her as she would be:—She did raise
 This Altar to their worship and their praise.

I promptly communicated this new reading of the inscription in question to Dr. Bruce, to Mr John Clayton, and to Lord Ravensworth, being desirous that lines which had presented no little difficulty as theretofore known, should be well examined in their amended aspect. And if I remember right, nothing was urged that was adverse to Semilè.

I am hopeful therefore that the matronly goddess will stand her ground as she apparently is well entitled to do.

The position assigned to this altar was assuredly a domestic one. The lines, composed, we may infer, by the votary herself, indicate at once the delicacy of expression, combined with the easy command of language, that accord with a high position in the Roman society of Britain ; and are truly an interesting literary relic.

RALPH CARR ELLISON.

May 27, 1874.

ANNE BROUGHAM THE CENTENARIAN.

THIS relative of the late Lord Brougham, "born in 1683, died in February, 1789, at the age of 106 ; having lived," says Burke, "in the reigns of seven sovereigns, viz., Charles II., James II., William and Mary, Anne, and the first three Georges."

Centenarians are rare. Although four-score years may often be over-passed, and even four-score years and ten, it is seldom that man or woman exceeds a hundred years of life. The busts and portraits which adorn the rooms of our Literary and Philosophical Society give instances of a near approach to the limit of five-score, but not one of them marks the full number. The picture of Lord Brougham is there, and his lordship reached his ninetieth year. His mother attained the same great age, and his maternal grandmother was still older. Her death, on the 25th of May, 1807, is recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, where her age is stated to have been 92. In Burke's Peerage it is 93. Two of the portraits in the reading room, those of Sir John Swinburne and the Rev. William Turner, (who died, the former in 1860, the latter in 1859,) give the ages of 98 and 97. Another of the original members of the

society, William Losh, who passed away in 1861, lived to 91; and Mrs. Bewicke, of Close House, a member for many years, was 97 at her death in 1859. Dr. Winterbottom, elected an honorary member on the formation of the institution in 1793 (being at that time a resident in Sierra Leone), died at South Shields in 1859, aged 93; Dr. Hutton of Woolwich, another of the earliest honorary members, is shown by his portrait to have lived to 85; and Dr. Fenwick of Durham, enrolled among the honorary members in 1795, (who presided over the memorable meeting of 1818 in Darlington which pronounced in favour of a railway in preference to a canal,) was 94 years old when he died in 1855. The inscription on the picture of the Rev. Edward Moises, an original member of the society, states his years to have been 83, (the same age at which his uncle, the Rev. Hugh Moises, also died). The bust of Matthew Boulton, an honorary member at the beginning, names fourscore as the number of his years, his life extending to within a week or two of 81; and the bust of his partner, James Watt, is inscribed 83. One of the successors, moreover, of Sir John Swinburne in the office of president, Dr. Headlam, died at 87. All these lived far beyond three-score and ten, and some survived the term more than twenty years, three of them living within a year or two of a century. But none of them arrived at the extreme limit of that protracted span. One, however, of the number, the venerable Lord Brougham, records in his autobiography an example of a centenarian in his own family; and in the year following the publication of his lordship's Memoirs, Mrs. Duncombe Shafto, widow of Robert Eden Duncombe Shafto (member for the county of Durham in the Parliament of 1802), died at Whitworth Park aged 101.

"My grandmother," says Lord Brougham in his Memoirs (published in 1871), "was born in Queen Anne's reign; so that I have conversed with a person who was alive a hundred and eighty years ago, and also *might* have heard her relative Ann Brougham, who lived to the age of a hundred and six, speak of events that happened in Queen Elizabeth's time! This is only conjecture; but it is at all events a certain fact that I, now writing in the latter half of the nineteenth century, have heard my grandmother, being, at the time I refer to, about ninety years of age, relate all the circumstances of the execution of Charles I., as they had been told to her by an eye-witness who stood opposite to Whitehall, and saw the king come out upon the scaffold. I think the story was told to her about the year 1720, and she talked of her informant as having been quite old enough at the time of the execution to have carried away a clear and accurate recollection of all the details. Her own memory was most perfect; nor did the event appear to her to

be so very remote, for she herself perfectly remembered the attempt of the Pretender in 1715."

Her memory must indeed have been good, to retain the attempt of the old Pretender, made 91 years and more before her death. Dying in May, 1807, at the age of 92 or 93, she was living, not "a hundred and eighty years" before the writing of the Memoirs, her birth occurring about the reign of Queen Anne, but less than a hundred and sixty years prior to the death of her illustrious grandson, who indulges in the conjecture that she might have heard her centenarian relative "speak of events that happened in Queen Elizabeth's time." But how could this be? She was not born before the year 1713; and no relative of the age of 106, with whom she was contemporary, could have lived in the reign of Elizabeth, who died in 1603. Moreover, the Anne Brougham "who lived to the age of one hundred and six" was born, as the pedigree of the Peerage runs, in the reign of Charles II., eighty years after the date of Elizabeth. She had her birth in 1683; and as she lived to February, 1789, her noble kinsman, born in September, 1778, was ten years old at the period of her death. To his lordship, therefore, as well as to her older relatives, she might discourse from living memory. He might have heard her tell, if not of the arrival of the Armada in the Channel in 1588, of the coming of the Stadtholder's fleet a hundred years afterwards.

Such is the inference warranted by Burke. But in a "Leaf for the Local Historian" which I wrote for the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* in 1864, extracts were given from the enrolments of the Merchants' Company inconsistent with the centenarian claim; and now that a place has since been assigned to it in the Memoirs, the opposing facts, drawn from the archives of the borough, may appropriately be repeated in the *Archæologia Æliana*.

The father of Anne Brougham, "Henry Brougham, of Scales, who enlarged his possessions there, and greatly added to Scales Hall," succeeded his sire, Thomas Brougham, in 1648, about the time of his coming of age. By his first wife, (the "fair Miss Slee" of Bishop Nicolson's MS., "daughter of Mr. Slee of Carlisle, a jovial gentleman of £300 a year,") he had, as shown by Burke, four children, Thomas, Henry, Anne (the centenarian), and Joane; and by his second, ("Elizabeth, daughter and ultimately sole heir of John Lamplugh, Esq., of Lamplugh, in Cumberland,") he had Thomas, Bernard, John, Peter, Samuel (great-grandfather of Lord Brougham), Elizabeth, and Mary.

Nicolson and Burn's "Westmoreland and Cumberland," and the "Cumberland" of Hutchinson, (in both of which the second marriage is omitted, and also the centenarian age,) give the sons and daughters

in the order of their birth. They make the number, not eleven, but twelve; and they exhibit differences of name. Their roll runs thus:—Agnes, Thomas, Henry, William, Jane, Bernard, John, Mary, Matthias, Peter, George, and Samuel. The names of Agnes and Anne are convertible; and in the county histories, Agnes takes the place of Anne in the later pedigree, where the year 1683 occurs as the date of her birth. Her father, who was 37 at the time of Dugdale's Visitation in 1665, would therefore be between fifty and sixty years of age at the time of his first marriage, and the birth of Agnes or Anne. Ten or eleven more children were born to him in all; and one of the younger sons is Matthias, the ninth child of the county histories, not named by Burke, but enrolled by the Merchants' Company of Newcastle. Apprenticed to Mr. Francis Johnson, merchant-adventurer and mercer, April 1, 1692, Matthias, son of Henry Brougham, of Scales, in the county of Cumberland, Esq., was enrolled on the 22nd of November, 1693, and set over to Mr. William Procter, (who had served the office of sheriff in 1684). Matthias died, however, before his term of servitude expired; and opposite the enrolment is written in the margin *Mort.* In consequence, probably, of his death, his next brother, Peter, was apprenticed, on the 10th of April, 1695, to Mr. Edward Parkinson, merchant-adventurer and mercer, and subsequently set over to the master of Matthias, Mr. Procter, the date of the enrolment being February 18, 1696.

These are the facts recorded of the two Newcastle apprentices, sons of Lord Brougham's great-great-grandfather; and how are they to be reconciled with the birth of Anne Brougham, the eldest child of the family, in 1683? Six or seven births, and a second marriage, come in between Agnes (or Anne) and Matthias; and Matthias, indentured in 1692, must have been born before the former date, with also seven or eight sons and daughters more. The pedigree of the Peerage harmonizes with this presumption, where it records the birth of his lordship's grandfather, second son of Samuel, the youngest of the two children who succeeded Peter. Samuel's son Henry was born in 1717; an event which is consistent enough with the books of the Merchants' Company, but not with the birth of the eldest of the eleven or twelve children so late as 1683.

Is not, then, this case of centenarianism more than doubtful? It certainly appears so to me. Clear instances there are in which life has flowed on until a century was run out. Mrs. Duncombe Shafto's is one of them, her years being 101 in number when she died in 1872; but the claim of 106 years for Anne Brougham is open to grave question. Cases of great longevity are commonly noticed in newspapers and other periodicals, and I have turned to contemporary publications in search of some

record of her death, but without success. The *Annual Register* and *Gentleman's Magazine* are silent; nor in the *Newcastle Chronicle* have I found this centenarian named. On the 21st of March, 1789, there is an obituary notice of Mrs. Ann Benn, wife of Mr. Lamplugh Benn, who had died lately, at Birkby, near Maryport in the 100th year of her age; but no mention occurs of Anne Brougham, stated in the Peerage to have died in the previous month, at the greater age of 106.

JAMES CLEPHAN.

Saville Row, Newcastle.

EARLY PRINTING IN NEWCASTLE.

BY JAMES CLEPHAN.

IN the sixth volume of the Society's Transactions (1865), there is a valuable contribution from the pen of the late Mr. Hodgson Hinde, "On Early Printing in Newcastle." A volume of the Calendar of State Papers (Domestic), published in 1873, now supplies materials for a supplementary leaf. It comprises six months of the year 1639; and we learn from its contents that the press ordered from London in April, when King Charles was in York, was set in motion at Newcastle in May. The Earl of Arundel and Surrey (Thomas Howard), Lord General of the Army in the North, wrote from York to Sir Francis Windebank, Secretary of State, on the 20th of April, giving him the King's instructions:—"His Majesty would have you, with all expedition, to send down a printer with a press, to set out His Majesty's daily commands for his court or army, and that to be done with more than ordinary diligence, the want being daily found so great. I conceive a waggon by land the surer way, to change horses as often as they will, by express warrant to take up teams daily." An indorsement by Secretary Windebank shows that he answered this letter on the 30th of the month.

There was no slackness or delay in the execution of the royal wish. The printer was in Newcastle with his press in less than three weeks from the date of the Lord General's communication. This fact appears by a letter from Edward Norgate to his cousin Robert Reade, nephew and secretary of Windebank. Garter King-at-Arms (Sir John Borough) was in attendance on the King. Norgate was with him, preparing official papers for print, "making patterns for two Scotch heralds' coats," and otherwise employing himself in the duties of his

office. He is repeatedly writing to Reade; and on the 16th of May he says to him:—"This book of orders" (probably the "Laws and Ordinances of Warre" referred to by Mr. Hinde) "was proclaimed this morning by our Clarencieux, in a miserable cold morning, with hail and snow." A week earlier (May 9), he had mentioned a proclamation to the Covenanters, "read on Sunday last (May 5), in the church here, in the presence of the Lord General, the Earls of Essex, Holland, and other lords and commanders." Of this proclamation, the Marquis of Hamilton, "now riding at anchor near Leith," had six copies; and "we have brought hither a printer, with all his trinkets, ready to make new, as occasion may require." This was written on the 9th; and on the 12th Norgate was again writing to Reade from Newcastle. "We have a printer here," says he; "and this day I made ready for the King's hand a proclamation for the importation of butter. It is now printing; so are four hundred of the former proclamation of pardon to the Scots."

No copy, printed in Newcastle, of the proclamation to the Scots, "read in the church here" (the church of St. Nicholas), nor of the more humble State Paper relating to butter, has come down to our own day; and the Calendar is silent, moreover, as to the employment of the royal press in the North of England elsewhere than in Newcastle.

THE ANGLO-SAXON MONUMENTAL STONE FOUND AT FALSTONE IN 1813.

THE epitaph upon this stone must have been somewhat hastily read subsequently; for on careful examination the syllables will be found to group themselves best as follows. And in this order they constitute a rhythmic or versified inscription of much native dignity and earnestness in the expression of dutiful affection. In it we perceive the richness, the wealth of expression, in the Northumbrian Saxon, which here preserves to us the noun *eomerth*, lamentation, from the adjective *eomer*, sad, woeful; and in the compound expression *æftereo-mæge*, after-abiding kinswoman.

The lines run thus in perfect alliteration—

eomærthe sættæ
æfter Hroetbærhte becn
æftereo-mæge :—
beodeth thære sawle,

In the standard Saxon of Wessex we should have found—

geomerthe sette
æfter Hrodberhte beacen
æfteru-mæge :—
beodeth there sawle.

In sorrow hath set
Over Robert stone-beacon,—
Care of kin-sister
True, after-remaining :—
Pray all, for the soul, pray.

Moerore adparavit
Inscriptum Roberto
Propinqua, superstes :—
Pro animâ orate.

The name of Falstone is apparently framed in direct reference to such a memorial, being easily deducible from one or other of the following forms in Anglo-Saxon. Thus it may either come from falles-stán, “stone of fall”; and most likely, perhaps, a slaught-fall, such as often resulted from deadly feuds: or it may have originally been falnes-stán (a contraction of fallenes-stán), “stone of the fallen”; that is, of the fallen man.

It is sometimes heard pronounced as Fa’stone, under the Scottish omission of the l-sound, so common on the Border. But this must not be mistaken for fast-stone, which would be a manifest error.

The epigraph is inscribed in twofold form, being given first in Romanesque minuscule and again in Anglo-Saxon Runes,—as if to aid and conciliate all readers. The inflections of the Northumbrian Anglo-Saxon are all well retained. On the whole, I should infer that it belongs to the epoch 1100, or but little later.

The Anglo-Saxon epitaphs that remain to us are nearly all concise, terse, and graceful compositions in verse. They were assuredly all composed by ecclesiastics, who were not only skilled, in the poesy of their own people, but conversant with Latin epigraphy.

RALPH CARR ELLISON.

* * The Stone itself is in the Museum of the Antiquarian Society, Newcastle.

MR. ROBERT WHITE.

BY J. CLEPHAN.

THE present volume of the Transactions records the loss of some of the more prominent members of the Society. Names long associated with posts of honour and of usefulness have passed away. They are enrolled in our annals, but those who bore them will take part in our assemblies no more. Mr. Robert White, who wrote the memoir of Mr. Hodgson Hinde printed on preceding pages, has himself departed; and also Dr. Edward Charlton, who attended him in his last illness. They were all of them contributors to the previous volume; their well-known hand is even visible in this; and now they have ceased to share with us in our proceedings.

The historian of "Otterburn," who died at his residence in Newcastle, No. 11, Claremont Place, on the 20th of February, 1874, was born at Yetholm on the 17th of September, 1802. His father, a small farmer, was one of those bold patriots who flew to arms on the false alarm of 1804, afterwards turned to such good account in "The Anti-quary" by Sir Walter Scott, "the different corps of volunteers, on arriving at their alarm-posts, announcing themselves by their music playing the tunes peculiar to their own districts, many of which had been gathering-signals for centuries." The prompt response of the local forces, on both sides of the Borders, made it apparent to Napoleon how general and how enthusiastic would be the defence of the shores of Britain against any assault from France; and if invasion were ever seriously meditated, probably warded it off. In such a time it was that the infancy of Robert White was spent. His schoolboy days flowed by between Trafalgar and Waterloo; and on the acres which his father tilled he was early inured to toil. Occasionally, also, he assisted the neighbouring occupiers in reaping their harvests; some portion of his youth he gave to the workshop of a millwright, acquiring a knowledge of his ingenious art; and all his leisure time he devoted to books. "Reedsdale," writes a genial pen in the *Hawick Advertiser* (September 25, 1869), "saw his boyhood disporting itself in frolic and cow-herding by the pleasant haughs of Otterburn. There he got gristle and pith into his bones by hardy labour, and pleasant days of helpfulness to his father,

who rented a piece of land. There, too, he became smitten by the spirit of Border lore." "Born on the Scottish Border," are his own words, "and hearing from my parents' lips of The Bruce and The Douglas, and of the battles of Bannockburn and Otterburn, I desired as I grew up to know something of the lives of these men, and to wander over the localities where they led their armies to victory. In this way, when I came to reflect on the privileges which Scotland derived from the former of these battle fields, the place came to be regarded by me as hallowed ground." History, and legend, and song he eagerly devoured. His father's landlord at Otterburn, Mr. James Ellis, formerly a solicitor in Newcastle, kindly granted him the use of his library. The spell of the Northern Wizard had then fallen on his countrymen; and one of the kindly loans to the farmer's son was "The Lady of the Lake," with which he was so fascinated that he copied the poem, every word, into a paper book, in the fair, clear hand, which became so perfect by prolonged practice. Thus, then, diligent and thoughtful, studious and industrious, the young Borderer rose to manhood; and now he looked about him for some new sphere of labour, where he might have larger means and wider opportunities of usefulness. The "Memoir of the Rev. John Hodgson," by the Rev. Dr. Raine, affords us a glimpse of him at this early period of his life. "He was for many years, and continues to be," says the historian of North Durham in 1858, "a profound admirer of Hodgson and his character. So far did he carry this feeling, that once upon a time, (I have it from himself,) he would fain have become the village schoolmaster at Whelpington, that he might be near the object of his admiration, and help him with his pen in his vacant hours." "I hope," adds Dr. Raine in a note, "I may not be guilty of any breach of confidence when I make the following extract from what in strictness of speech was intended as a private communication. The feeling which it betrays is too rare and creditable to be kept a secret:—'Before coming to Newcastle, I was nearly brought into a position that would have given me many opportunities of being better acquainted with Mr. Hodgson. In 1825, about the time when haycutting commences, I learned that a teacher was wanted for the school at Whelpington; and knowing that Mr. Hodgson was closely occupied in writing his great work, I felt desirous above all things to be near him. Hence I became a candidate for the appointment. Had I attained the office I then sought, I cannot tell you with what alacrity and devotedness I had entered into every kind of work by which, during my leisure hours, I could have been of use to that remarkable man. Copying manuscripts, surveying old camps, &c., would have brought me into my proper element; and the whole would have been to me a labour of love.'"

It was in the same year that Mr. Ellis, ever anxious to advance his interests, wrote to Mr. John Watson, of the Edinburgh Tea Warehouse, whose shop in Union Street, at the head of the Cloth Market and the Middle Street, faced the Bigg Market. Tea Warehouse and Middle Street have since gone ; Town Hall and Corn Exchange cover the site ; and Newcastle has lost one of the quaintest features of the olden times. Mr. Ellis inquired if Mr. John Watson knew of any opening suitable for a steady and intelligent young man ? Mr. Robert Watson, of the High Bridge, plumber and brass founder, was in the daily habit of looking in upon his neighbour the grocer. They bore the same name, and were great friends, though not relatives ; and the application from Otterburn was named between them. The mention was seasonable. Robert Watson was in want of such a youth, and wrote at once to Mr. Ellis, asking a question or two, and requesting a specimen of his protégé's handwriting. The answers were satisfactory, the penmanship all that could be desired, and an engagement was made. Robert White came to Newcastle in 1825, and bound himself to the employer in whose counting-house he remained about forty years. Death alone separated them ; and his friend and master, appreciating his worth, left him one of his executors.

A book-buyer when his means were small ; always enabling himself, by careful thrift, to add to the well-chosen contents of his shelves ; Mr. White's library eventually became one of the most extensive and valuable in the North of England. The ploughboy who had copied the poem of Sir Walter Scott, could not fail to gather books about him according to his resources ; and some spare cash for literature he constantly found, even when his income was but on a par with "the village preacher's" of Goldsmith's song. Surrounded by his growing literary stores, he lived to old age, his rare and varied library the visible expression of his cultured mind—the outward manifestation of the inward man. He had learnt to know and value good books, and made them the companions of his daily life. He also added his own name to the roll of writers in prose and verse ; his first work, written in 1829, being "The Tyne-mouth Nun, a Poem ;" and it is pleasant to remember that one of the founders of this Society, for a long course of years its Secretary, was instant in his encouragement of the author. "When I had written out a fair copy," says Mr. White in a preface to his reprint of 1858, "I sent it to Mrs. Ellis of Otterburn, a lady who had always conducted herself towards me with much kindness, and to whom I afterwards dedicated the poem. Her husband, Mr. Ellis, subsequently transmitted the manuscript to Mr. Adamson of this town, who waited upon me with it, and entreated me to allow the piece to be printed for the Typographical

Society of Newcastle, to which I assented." And thus it was that Mr. White first came before the public, to whom he so often afterwards presented the fruits of his leisure moments; his last volume of "Poems" appearing in 1867, and including his "Epistle" of 1848 "to Mr. James Telfer, Saughtree, Liddesdale,

"The friend whom I have longest known."

In these verses he recurs to their early days, when together they feasted with the sons of song, and "murmured not, though they were poor."

Well I remember when, by turns,
We onward read, and relished high,
The soul-inspiring verse of Burns,
The Ettrick Shepherd's minstrelsy.
Sir Walter's bold, heroic lyre,
Evoked at once our warmest praise;
And full we felt the force and fire
Of Byron's powerful, thrilling lays.

Chaucer and Spenser, Shakspeare and Milton, beguiled the passing hour, oft "seated in some nook of earth, or wandering on o'er field or moor," admitted by books to the society of the highest and the best; and when, in the year 1857, having taken up materials which had been "lying untouched for a quarter of a century," he brought them before the world, expanded over nearly two hundred pages of print, in the form of a "History of the Battle of Otterburn," he acknowledged in his preface the many services rendered him on all sides, his warm gratitude was expressed to "an old, a true, and a valued friend," James Telfer. "At all times," said the historian, "he has responded most devotedly to my wishes, and in no instance, on my part, has any appeal to his judgment been made in vain."

Next year, Mr. White brought out an edition of the Poems and Ballads of Dr. John Leyden, born like himself in Roxburghshire, a farmer's son; and to the life written by Sir Walter Scott, he added a supplementary memoir of his own.

The "Otterburn," published in 1857, gave its author an enduring place in the historic literature of the country. He had already, in 1856, read a paper at a field meeting of the Society, narrating the story of the battle of Neville's Cross on the scene where it was fought, (*Archæologia Æliana*, N. S., i., 271); and Mr. Hodgson Hinde, in his continuation of "Hodgson's History of Northumberland," singled him out as the most appropriate chronicler of Flodden fight. Dr. Raine also, commending "Otterburn" as "a publication very remarkable for its judicious arrangement and fidelity of narrative," bound him down to the task

"The faithful and gentlemanly way in which Mr. White has executed his undertaking," observed the biographer of Hodgson, "prompts a hope that he may be inclined to turn his mind and pen to the still more 'dismal tale'—

Of the stern fight and carnage drear
Of Flodden's fatal field,
Where shivered was fair Scotland's spear,
And broken was her shield.

For such a task the materials are rich and abundant ; and well do they deserve to be sifted and concentrated into a readable book upon the comprehensive but unpretending plan of 'The Battle of Otterburn.'

This hope found expression in 1858; and in the summer of that year, the Society assembled on Branxton Moor, when "The Battle of Flodden" was read, (*Archæologia*, N. S., iii, 197). One more historical work was still in store for Mr. White. It had long occupied his thoughts, and in his latter years he set himself to its accomplishment. "Mr. White, (said his friend "T. H.," already quoted, in the autumn of 1869,) has told the story of various battles, but one remains yet to be recorded, that of Bannockburn. A notice recently appeared in the *Athæneum*, that he was engaged on a work of this kind. Scotland more and more lends an ear to any one who will repeat the tale of that great deciding battle. Who would not gather round were it only an old pensioner on sixpence a day to hear from him the story of Waterloo? Bannockburn was the best summer day's darg Scotland ever did. She put in the sickle, and reaped a great harvest, which has filled her barns and fed her children with the food of freedom and stout-hearted exultation ; and we will never tire of listening to the way and manner in which she went about the work, and we will be all the more pleased that Robert White recounts it." It was recounted in 1871 ; and at the annual meeting of the Society, held in the month of February, 1872, reference was made in the Report of the Council to this last work of our departed fellow-member. He was then in his seventieth year, and with apparent promise of long life to come. But the prospect was not fulfilled : two years only remained to him. His was, however, a good old age, to which he had arrived with almost unbroken health on the way ; and he had lived long enough to teach an admirable lesson to our race. Born to an humble lot, the son of virtuous and intelligent parents, he walked in the way of industry, winning knowledge and culture as he went. Temperate in all things, he so husbanded his means that he could continually be adding to what he well described in verse as

The rich bequests of those inspired
To elevate and teach mankind,

Confidence and respect, and the fruits of faithful service, came to him by natural law. He attracted the good opinion and esteem of those around him. He gained the applause to which the Roman orator assigns peculiar weight—"the praise of those who deserve praise;" and his declining days were spent in honourable ease, to which literary labour lent a zest, and foreign travel, and converse with men and books.

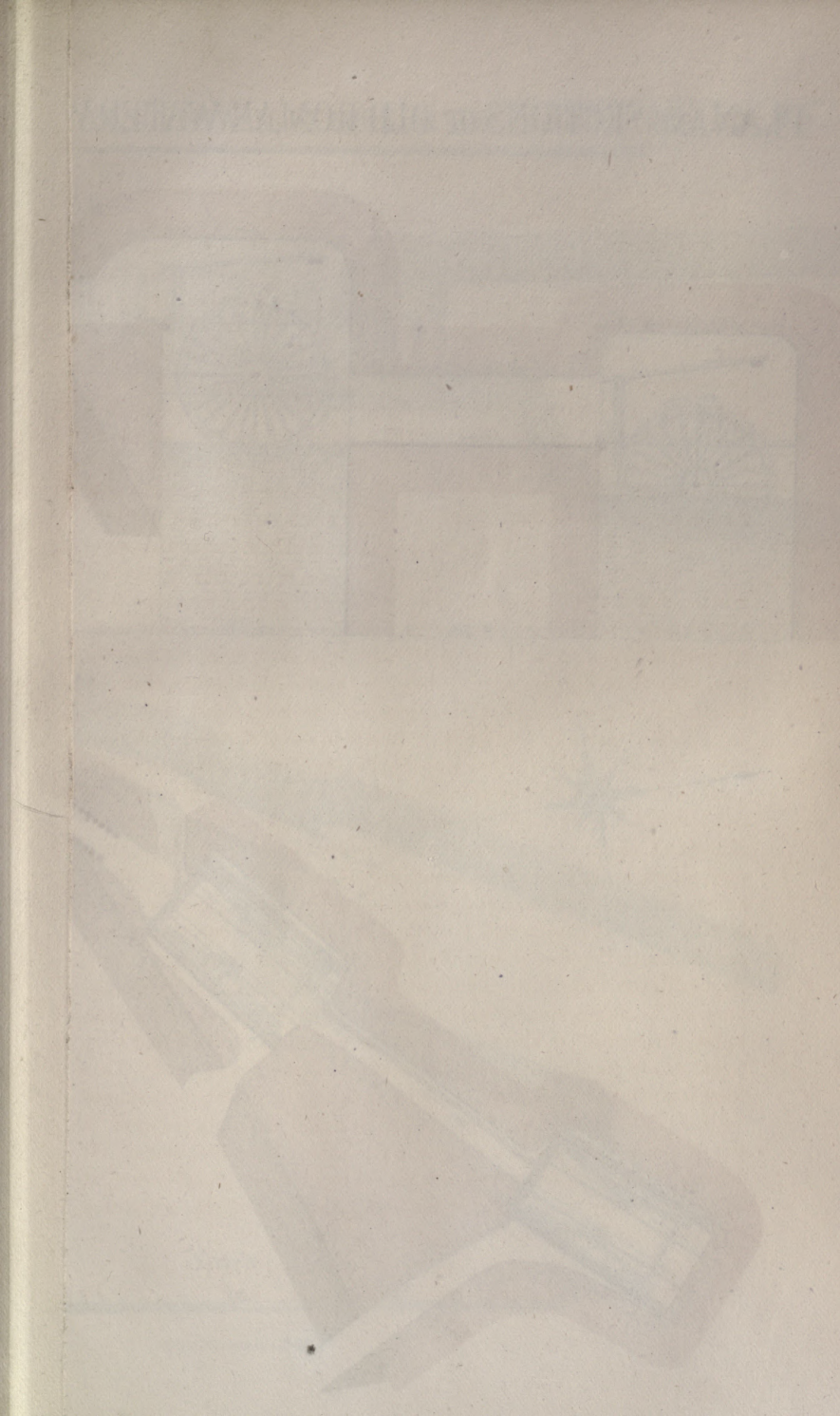
ROMAN WHEEL FROM THARSIS, IN SPAIN.

A PORTION of a Roman water wheel of wood was lately sent to me from the mines of Tharsis, in Southern Spain, in the ancient workings of which it was found. At the suggestion of Dr. Bruce, and with his kind assistance, I have set it up here for the inspection of the members of this Society, some of whom may, perhaps, be able to throw some light on the mode in which the motive power was supplied to these wheels. At present this seems to be unknown. They are not water wheels in the usual sense of the term. They are curious, as having been used as lifting pumps to draw the mine. During a yachting cruise last summer, I visited the mine, and with your permission I shall shortly lay before you the information I gathered on the spot regarding these wheels, several of which have been found *in situ* on the north side of the mine.

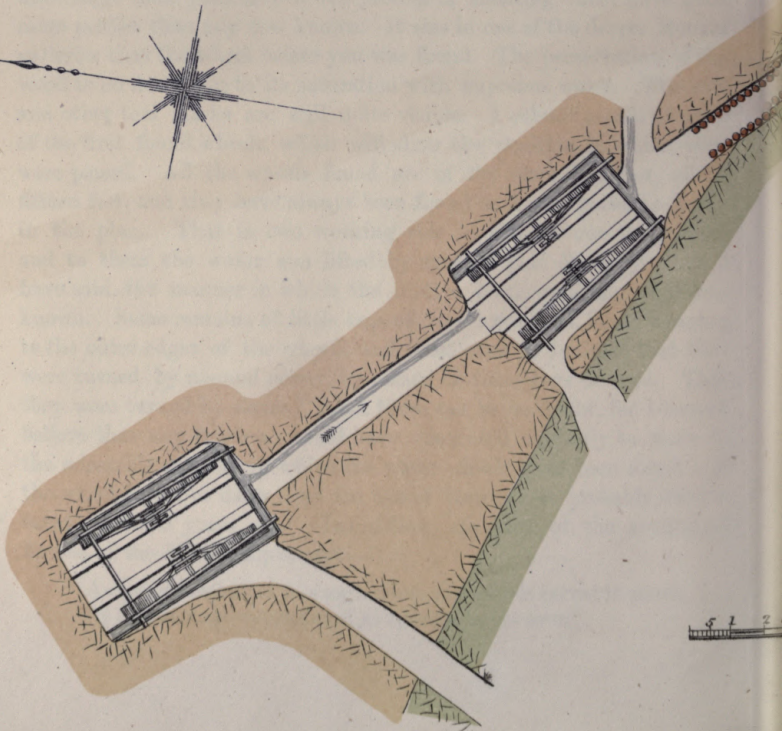
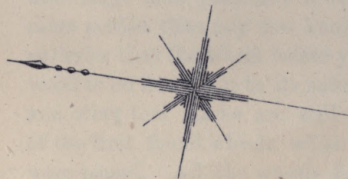
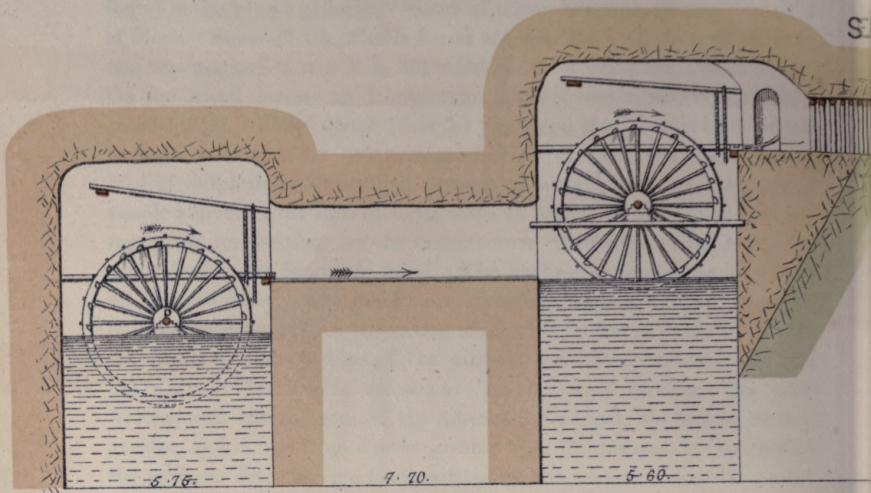
Where the outspurs of the range of hills called the Sierra Morena die away towards the sea, to the north of the Bay of Cadiz, there have been found some of the richest mineral deposits in Spain. In this district, iron, copper, lead, zinc, arsenic, antimony, bismuth, nickel, silver, and gold, have been found in quantities very much in the order in which I have given them. That this district is the Tarshish of ancient history there can be little or no doubt. The mine from which that wheel was taken is still called Tharsis; and in the same province of Huelva, a high hill near Rio Tinto still bears the name of Solomon, and close by a little village is named Zalomea. The mine of Tharsis is situated about thirty miles from the town of Huelva, which lies not far from the junction of the rivers Odiel and Tinto, and close by is the little town of Palos, and the convent of La Rabbida, from which Columbus sailed with his three small vessels to discover the new world. The galleries by means of which the Tharsis mine, in ancient times, was worked, are of two kinds, square and round. The square galleries are believed to be Phœnician, and the round Roman. I regret that I have

not succeeded in obtaining for your inspection any of the Roman coins found in the round galleries. Some of these, however, were of the date of Nero. Some of the wheels found are marked with Roman letters; one was marked T R S E, but what these letters mean I cannot say. On the wheel before us I have only found two x's, which may have stood for 20. Until about 17 or 18 years ago the Tharsis mine seems to have remained for centuries unworked. In the old excavation, a lake of sulphurous water had formed, to which, from great distances, people afflicted with skin diseases came to bathe. A great demand having arisen for sulphur for the manufacture of sulphuric acid, attention was called to the forgotten mine. The healing waters of the lake were all pumped away, and a great mass or lode of mineral exposed, as stone is in an open quarry, to the extent of about a thousand yards in length. About six millions of tons of the mineral have been explored, but still the depth of the lode is unknown. As the depth increases the mass widens, and the richness of the mineral for copper appears to become greater, and it was from depths greater than the present workings that the ancients drew the ore they smelted on the surface. And it is most interesting to find that in the great heaps of ancient slags on this surface, there is hardly a trace of copper to be found, showing that the knowledge then possessed of the process of smelting must have been more perfect than any now known. It was in one of the deeper Roman galleries that the wheel before you was found. The preservation of the wood is no doubt due to its saturation with cupreous water. The saw and other tool marks are still quite visible. I submit a plan of some of the first found wheels, which will show the position in which they were placed. All the wheels found are of the same diameter, about fifteen feet, and they have always been found in double pairs, as shown in the plan. That is, two working side by side in one excavation, and to them the water was lifted by another pair close by. As I have said, the manner in which the motive power was applied is unknown. Some remains of little tags of rope have been found hanging to the outer edges of the wheels, and these seem to indicate that they were turned by manual power, by means of these tags of rope. That they were turned by slaves I think there can be no doubt, for I cannot believe that any freeman would have consented willingly to work in the miserable galleries in which the water wheels have been found. If the wheel before us dates from the age of Nero, as it probably does, it must be 1800 years old. Longfellow, speaking of the sculptured figures of the Middle Ages, says—

“And above cathedral doorways saints and angels carved in stone,
By a former age commissioned as apostles to our own.”

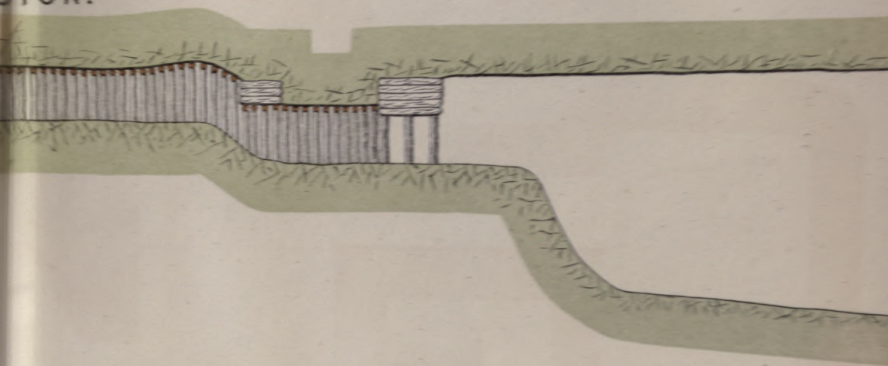


PLAN AND SECTIONS OF OLD ROMAN WATER WH

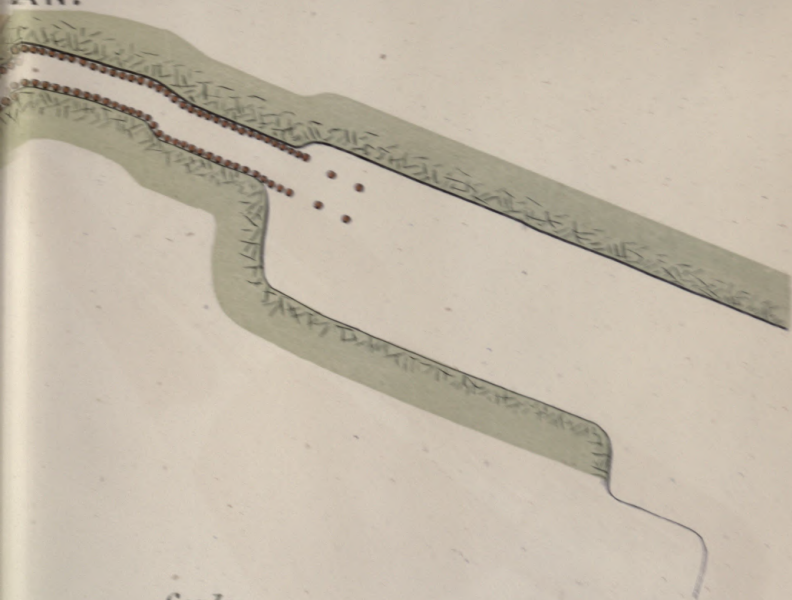


ES ON NORTH WALL OF LODE AT THE THARSIS MINES, 1867.

CTION.

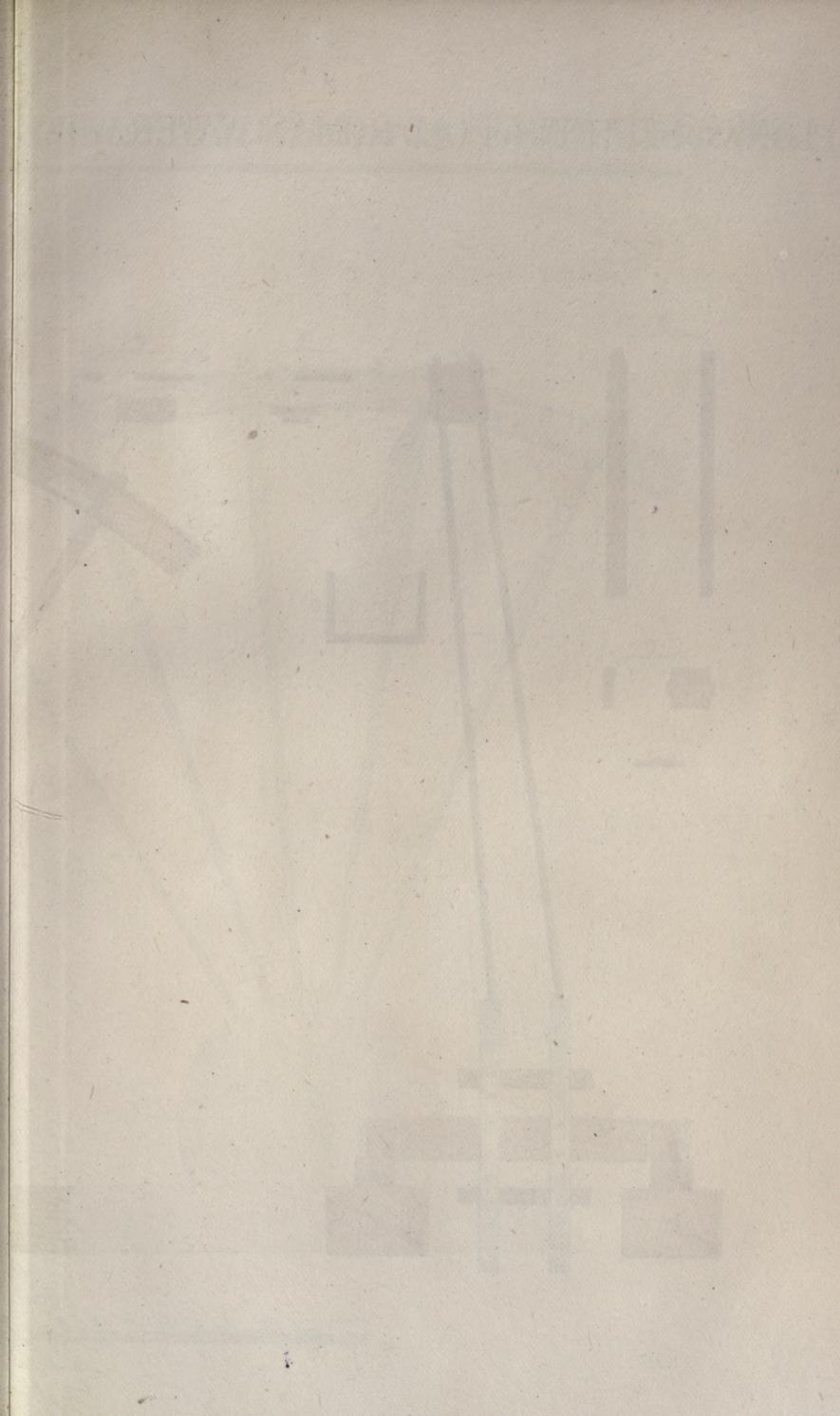


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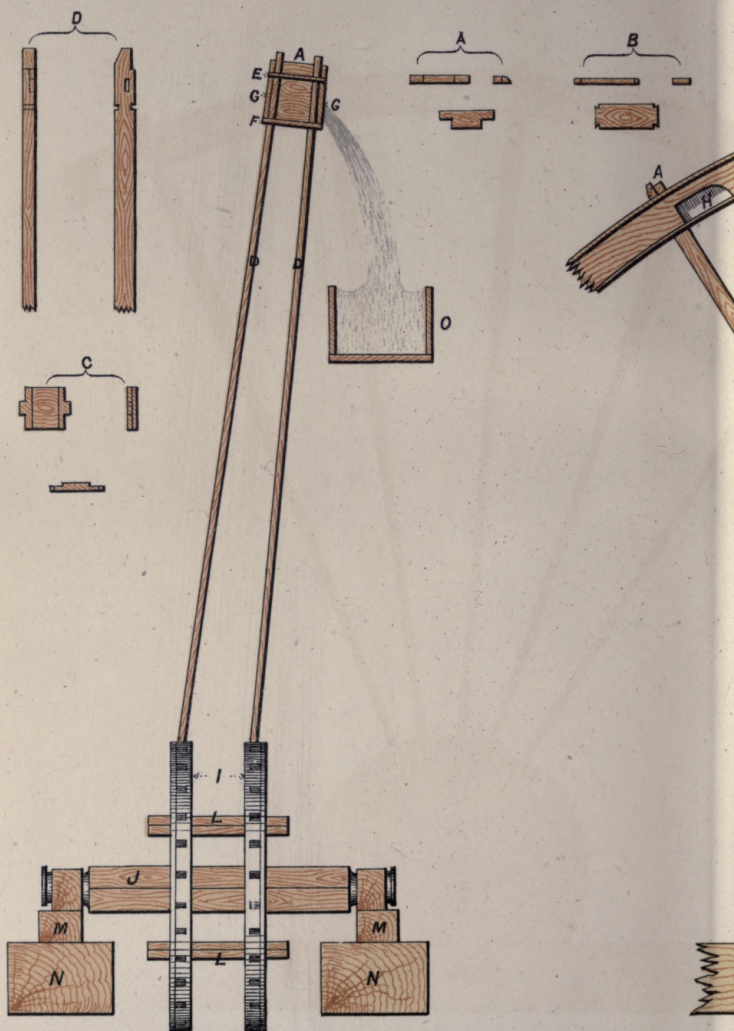


Scale:

5 10 15 20 Metres.

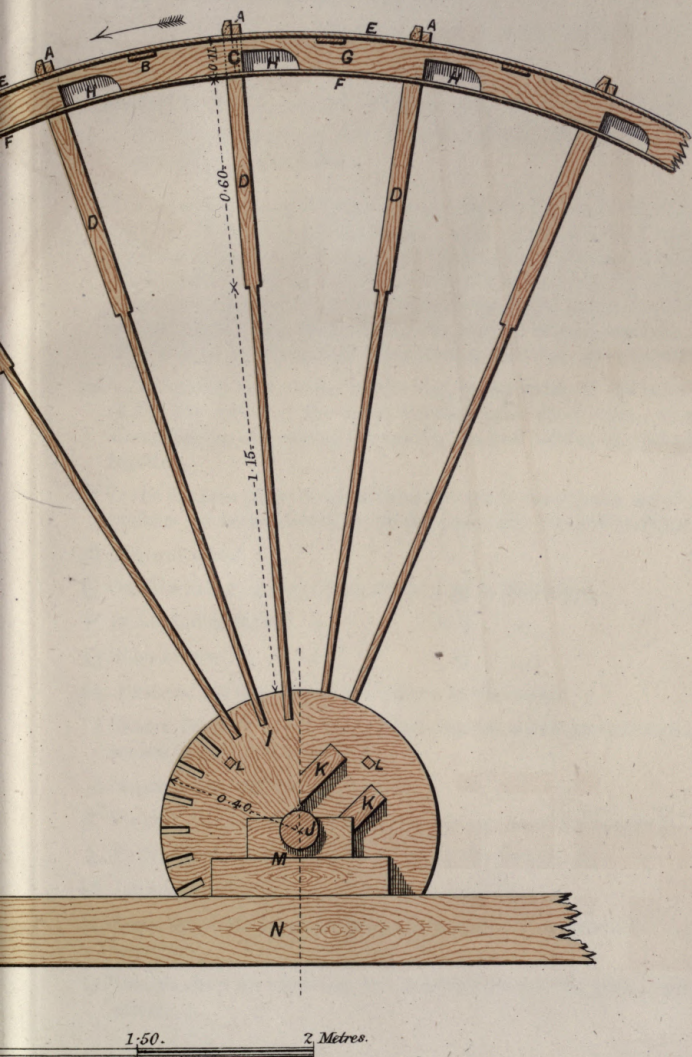


PLAN AND SECTIONS OF OLD ROMAN WATER WHEEL



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

5 ON NORTH WALL OF LODE AT THE THARSIS MINES, 1867.



Is not that wheel, dug up after eighteen centuries, an apostle as well? —an *apostolus*, or messenger, sent down through all the ages since Nero's time to tell us how Rome, in pursuit of that wealth which, as the result of her enterprise, made her grandeur, overcame all difficulties of navigation and of transit, and how, like the burghers of Nuremburg, her citizens could boast "That their great Imperial city stretched its hand through every clime!"

ALEXANDER S. STEVENSON, F.S.A. Scot.

Description of the various parts of Old Roman Water Wheel found in the workings of the Tharsis Mines, and now placed in the Museum of the Castle.

- A Is fixed on to outside of lining of rim of wheel and to each set of arms, which projects a little beyond the lining. It is supposed to be that part of the wheel to which the workman either applied his strength or weight to cause it to revolve; the latter of these methods is probably the correct one, as the rope suspended from the wooden balk above would lead to the conclusion, that it was employed for the man to sling himself up to, and in this position by alternately using his feet as is done on a treadmill.
- B Is dovetailed to the sides of the rim, in the inside of the outside lining, and in the centre of the space between each set of arms; its use is for strengthening and joining the outside rim and holding the sides of the rim together.
- C Is the division piece which divides the rim between each set of arms into buckets; it is morticed through the arms, also checked to them.
- D Arms of wheel.
- E Outside lining of rim, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick \times $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad.
- F Inside lining of rim, $\frac{1}{4}$ „ $6\frac{1}{2}$ „
- G Sides of rim $\frac{1}{2}$ „ \times $4\frac{1}{4}$ „
- H Porthole for the ingress and egress of the water.
 - I Centre flange of wheel with sockets formed for the reception of arms, and square hole in centre for axle.
 - J Square axle, with round journals.
 - K Pieces to deepen and strengthen up the eye in centre flanges for axle.
 - L Four square pieces to stiffen up the centre flanges, &c.
 - M Journal blocks and seats for axle to revolve in.
 - N Beam on which journal blocks are secured and on which the whole wheel is carried.
 - O Trough shoot for receiving and conveying away the water raised by the wheel.

DISCOVERY OF A ROMAN ALTAR AT PROCOLITIA.

DURING the present year there has been dug up amongst the ruins of the earliest buildings of the Roman station of Procolitia (the seventh *per lineam Valli*), an altar dedicated to the genius of the place—"Genio hujus loci." According to the Roman superstition, every person, and every place, had a presiding genius. In this instance the object of the dedication is distinct and clear, not so the names of the dedicators. The lettering is by the hand of an unskilled sculptor, and is indistinct in the third and fourth lines; these appear to be the letters—

GENIO
 HUIUS LO
 CI TEXAND
 ET SUAVIS
 VEX COHOR
 II NERVIOR
 VM

of which the following would seem to be a probable reading:—"Genio hujus loci Texander et Suavis Vexillarii cohortis secundæ Nerviorum." The dedicators are thus assumed to be Texander and Suavis, two Vexillarii of the second cohort of the Nervii. The name of Texander has not been met with in any inscription found in Britain; the name of Suavis is recorded on a centurial stone found in the vicinity of Procolitia as that of a centurion employed in building Hadrian's Wall, and there might well be a standard bearer having the same cognomen. It is satisfactory to the writer that Dr. Bruce (whom he regards as the best authority on the subject) concurs in this as the probable reading of these imperfect letters. The standard bearer of the Legion was styled "Aquilifer, from Aquila, the Ensign of the Legion; the standard bearer of the cohort was styled Signifer, from Signa, the standard of a cohort; and the standard bearer of a century (company) or any body of troops serving under a vexillum, was styled "Vexillarius. The second cohort of the Nervii, whose officers dedicate this altar without doubt came to Britain with the Sixth Legion, early in the reign of Hadrian. It is mentioned in the diploma of that emperor, A.D. 124, and the only

other record of this cohort which has been discovered in Britain is an altar found near the line of the road of Agricola, between the stations of Cilurnum and Magna, dedicated by Decimus Cærellius Victor, a præfect of the Second Cohort of the Nervii. The Nervii were a people of Belgic Gaul, distinguished for their valour. Julius Cæsar, in the Second Book of his Commentaries de Bello Gallicô, describes his invasion of Belgic Gaul at the head of eight legions, and his approach through the country of the Ambiani to that of the Nervii, and he thus states the result of his inquiries as to the habits and character of the Nervii:—"There is no intercourse with them by merchants; they do not allow wine, or any other things tending to luxury, to be brought into their country, because they are satisfied that by such things their minds would be weakened and their courage impaired; they are a people fierce and of great valour." The great Roman general proceeds to narrate his advance into their country, and his desperate conflict with them on the banks of the Sabis (the modern Sambre). A people who could maintain such a conflict with the disciplined legions of Rome must have contained excellent materials for soldiers, and so the Romans must have thought, for at a later period no less than six auxiliary cohorts of the Nervii served in the Roman armies. The permanent garrison of Procolitia was the first cohort of Batavians, which has left numerous records of its presence there, extending from the reign of Maximinus, A.D. 237, to the date of the Notitia Imperii, supposed to be A.D. 400. Very near to the spot where this altar was found was dug up a fragment of an inscribed stone, containing a very few letters, but enough to justify the conjecture that the inscription relates to some act to which the Sixth Legion and some troops of the Nervii were parties. The Sixth Legion and the second cohort of the Nervii (probably one of its auxiliary cohorts) arrived in Britain at the same time. The Sixth Legion took part in the building of the Wall of Hadrian, of which the station of Procolitia is a component part. Amongst the ruins of that station many tiles have been found bearing the impress of that Legion, LEG. VI. V., "Legio sexta victrix." The Sixth Legion remained in Britain, its head quarters being at York, till the date of the Notitia Imperii, in which it is placed as being under the command of the Roman officer styled Dux Britanniarum, "sub dispositione viri spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum." The district under the command of this officer includes all the garrisons on the Wall of Hadrian, the Wall of Antoninus would seem to have been previously abandoned. Immediately after the date of the Notitia, Stilicho, the general, and the Minister of the youthful Emperor Honorius, called in the legions from the provinces for the purpose of resisting the invasion of Italy by the Goths under Alaric,

Amongst the legions so called in would be the 6th, and no doubt it is the legion referred to by the poet Claudian, the "Vates Sacer," who sung the exploits of Stilicho—

Venit et extremis Legio prætenta Britannis
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exsanguis Picto moriente figuras.

It may be hoped that future excavation may bring to light further fragments of this inscribed stone, of which so little has been yet found; and the same hope may be extended to the discovery of further fragments of a bronze statute of the size of life, of which the hand, a favourable specimen of the sculptor's art, has been lately exhumed.

JOHN CLAYTON.

REPORT
OF
The Society of Antiquaries
OF
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

M.DCCC.LXXVI.

THERE is a time-honoured custom affecting this Ælian Society, as many others, of offering to the annual general meeting some remarks on the recent position of the body and on outside events connected with its objects. Such remarks, designated a report, are, for some reason or another, generally drawn up by a secretary, rather than a council or committee, or a member thereon, and they sometimes are revised in meeting, sometimes not. It is feared that in the Ælian Society such revision has seldom taken place; but it seems desirable on this occasion to say that the Senior Secretary has neither drawn nor seen the report, and that, for obvious reasons, he was not asked to do so. For it so happens that he must be mentioned prominently as the painstaking and skilful editor of the famous book, the last part of which bears the date, 1875. Dr. Bruce, who has scarcely been identified sufficiently with the *Lapidarium* upon which the society has delighted to plume itself, possesses certain qualifications peculiarly requisite for the production of a monographic work. The confining himself, upon the whole, to a particular department of archæology, or rather to a particular period of our national history, the enthusiasm which every true worker shows to his own hobby, with a proper slowness in jumping to conclusions, and indomitable industry, are useful properties. But our friend has, in addition, a certain amount of common sense, in which scientific men are too often lacking, and he has long seen that a popular style, handsome get-up, and abundant pictorial illustration are requisite to entice the world at large towards his favourite subject. Probably all men possess a love for the beautiful, though differing very much in their respective selection of the objects in which they love to find it. Some delight in Greek coins, and minute gems, and Elzevir classics and diamond-type editions of modern authors; others in the noble medallions and first brass coins of Imperial Rome, and noble folios, and Baskerville's

type, and engravings and maps on a good scale; others in a tattered manuscript, the deciding a reading or a date to a nicety; others, again, in the crinkle-crinkle of architecture of this or that period; some in pictorial art of one style or another; some in divers other arts. But perhaps in all there is a wish to be as perfect, almost mathematically correct, in the exercise of their intelligence with respect to the subjects of their tastes as to history and art as they would like to be in their inquiries in physical subjects, or their own professional or mercantile or mechanical avocations. Now, Dr. Bruce likes a handsome volume, and one complete according to its scope, and pleasing to those taking an interest in what he takes an interest in, and to those whom he wishes to bring to his own good ways. And thus we have acquired a most useful book, and imposing withal, and the Society has been right in pluming itself on being the vehicle of its production. But as it has already acquired an inconvenient scarcity, it may become a speedy question whether a smaller edition, after the manners of the Elzevirs, never interfering with the value of the larger one to connoisseurs, should not be issued for the convenience of practical students who like handy books and may have small means. A double part of the "Archæologia Eliana," which must be sold to non-members at more than the usual price, is now ready for issue. It completes a volume, and the title page, contents, and index, to be prepared by the trained hand of Mr. Dodd, will be issued as soon as possible. The part is extensively illustrated, and through the kindness of Messrs. John Clayton and Alexander S. Stevenson, in a great measure without cost to the Society. The ordinary operations of the Society must, however, for the present be suspended. They could not well be so previously. But it has been a matter of real regret that the unpublished manuscripts of Mr. Hodgson Hinde, the *facile princeps* of critics on north-country history, could not be taken up earlier. They must now be so in good earnest. What we may call his remains abound in much of extreme interest. A subject to which he paid much attention may here be fitly mentioned. The fact that Newcastle was leagues behind other towns as to museum facilities preyed upon his mind, and as to antiquities his proposition was that this Society should build a receptacle near the Castle whither might be removed our own collections and those which at present unfortunately float past us to other public collections, or to mere private gatherings, which will be dispersed by sale, or go to distant places in their entirety, or rot away after various losses or pilferings. Mr. Hinde probably over estimated the zeal of his friends, and forgot that there was no particular reason why one or two hundred persons should at their own cost relieve a wealthy town, many of the ratepayers of which form their own collections of works of art, from the ordinary obligations of townsmen. But there should be no

objection to the handing over of the nucleus of a fund raised by him, and invested at Lambton & Co's. in the names of himself, Dr. Charlton, and the present Secretaries, £629 16s., (plus considerable interest) towards any well considered scheme for such a museum as inconsiderable places enjoy, and our collections could, as is done in small towns, be lent for what would practically be permanent exhibition. That Newcastle has by its municipal apathy lost articles of enormous value is but too certain, but "it is never too late to mend." We cannot, indeed, bring back the Castle of Newcastle and its surroundings, or the Pink Tower, or the somewhat more vulgar edifices called Newgate and the tower on the bridge, or the pretty clustered pillars of Old All Saints', or the fair east gable of St. Andrew's, or the stately memorials of Newcastle's ancient worthies in those churches and in St. Nicholas. Still, there is no great destruction in our churches at Newcastle at this moment, and present mistakes can easily be put right by the next generation at an enhanced cost. On the whole, St. John's Church now possesses the highest interest. Its Norman work is older than anything mediæval in Newcastle, save perhaps some portions of the outer walls of the Castle near the south postern, and in its glass is the oldest exemplar of the arms of the Borough. The Society luckily possesses the piscina and the arms of Robert Rhodes (the good lawyer, who gave a steeple to St. Nicholas) which were formerly part of the fabric. The interesting remains of Henry III.'s Black Gate also still exist, though the superstructure creates a prejudice against them. The excavations in the Roman Station at Shields Lawe must, we may hope, not be regarded as closed. The most striking remains are, it will be learned with satisfaction, to be preserved. It may not be distasteful to the Society to learn that the Heworth School Board have adopted on their seal the design of the valuable stycas of the Northumbrian king, Egfrid, the great benefactor of Jarrow, in relation to whom Jarrow was called the port of King Egfrid. The stycas were found in Heworth Churchyard, in Jarrow parish; and the earthen vessel in which they were contained, now in our museum, rather perplexes the learned as to whether it is not more ancient than its small copper contents, which sometimes occur for sale in London at about twenty pounds a piece. The monthly meetings continue to afford pleasant recreation, and the Society may reasonably consider that it is still of some slight utility. Numerous short papers have been read. The following is a list of the most recent presentations to the Society, by its constant friend, Sir W. C. Trevelyan:—The Cartulary of Cambukennoth, Reid's Bibliotheca Scoti Celtica, Norris' Ancient Cornish Drama, McLaren's Plains of Troy, Harleian Society—Visitations of Oxford and Cumberland, Instituto Archæologica Roma.

WILLIAM DODD IN ACCOUNT WITH THE

Dr.

1876.		£.	s.	d.
JAN. 28.	To Balance in hand	140	10	7
	„ Subscriptions	87	3	0
	„ Cash Collections at Castle	77	8	6
	„ Cash from B. Quaritch for Lapidarium	236	18	0
	„ Books sold by W. Dodd, less Commission	171	6	0

£713 6 1

To Balance £407 14 11

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE.

1876.		Cr.	£.	s.	d.
JAN. 28.	By paid J. Gibson.		46	16	0
" "	A. Reid, Printing		98	2	0
" "	Do. Bookbinding &c.		92	0	9
" "	D. Mossman		18	11	6
" "	R. B. Utting		18	1	0
" "	Insurance		0	7	6
" "	Rent of Castle		0	2	6
" "	E. Phillips, for Grey Abbey		0	10	6
" "	Advertising Lapidarium		4	4	4
" "	Surtees Society and P.O. Order		1	1	2
" "	G. B. Frost, Wire Guards for Chapel		4	1	4
" "	R. G. Salmon, Chapel Windows		5	14	0
" "	Hancock, Brushes		0	10	5
" "	Gas and Candles		0	6	10
" "	Wm. Dodd, Account		3	12	3
" "	Commission on Subscriptions		4	6	0
" "	Carriage of Lapidarium to Members		1	14	2
" "	Coals and Firewood		3	16	0
" "	Postage and Carriage		1	3	5
" "	Sundries		0	9	6
	Balance		407	14	11
			<hr/>		
			£713	6	1
			<hr/>		

January 31st, 1876,

*Examined with the vouchers,
and found correct,*

JOHN PHILIPSON, *Auditor.*

HONORARY MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

ELECTED.

David Laing, Esq., Librarian to the Signet Library, Edinburgh	...	...	...	...	...	2 Jan. 1828
Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, Bart. F.S.A., Wallington	6 Feb.	„				
James Orchard Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.	...	5 Nov.	1839			
John Yonge Akerman, Esq., Secr. S.A.	...	3 Feb.	1840			
His Excellency John Sigismund von Mösting, Copen- hagen	...	...	...	...	„	„
Robert William Billings, Esq.	...	7 July	„			
John Richards, Esq., F.S.A., Reading	...	„	„			
Robert Bigsby, Esq., Repton, Burton-on-Trent	...	„	„			
Charles Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A., London	...	6 Feb.	1844			
Charles Newton, Esq., M.A., H.B.M. Vice-Consul at Mitylene...	...	5 Sept.	1841			
Mons. Ferdinand Denis, Keeper of the Library of St. Genevieve at Paris	...	3 Feb.	1851			
Right Honourable Lord Talbot de Malahide, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., Malahide Castle, Ireland	...	1 Sept.	1852			
Sir John P. Boileau, Bart., F.R.S., F.S.A., M.R.I.A.	„	„				
Rev. John Montgomery Traherne, F.S.A., late Chan- cellor of Llandaff Cath., Coedriglan, Cardiff	...	„	„			
Edwin Guest, Esq., LL.D., Master of Caius College, Cambridge	...	„	„			
Rev. J. L. Petit, M.A., F.S.A., Old Square, Lincoln's Inn	...	„	„			
James Yates, Esq., F.R.S., Lauderdale House High- gate	...	„	„			
William Watkin E. Wynne, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., Aberamffra, Barmouth	...	„	„			
Sir Charles Anderson, Bart, Lea Hall, Gainsborough	„	„				
Daniel Wilson, Esq., LL.D., late Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh, now Pro- fessor of English Literature in the University of Toronto	...	„	„			

ELECTED.

Anthony Salvin, Esq., F.S.A., Finchley, Middlesex	...	1 <i>Sept.</i> 1852
William Beaumont, Esq., Warrington...	... ..	" "
Henry Maclauchlan, Esq., London	... ..	" "
Charles Bridger, Esq., 3, Kepple Street, London	...	3 <i>May</i> , 1854
Richard Sainthill, Esq., Cork	... ..	6 <i>Dec.</i> 1854
William Webster, Esq., York	... ..	" "
John Lindsay, Esq., Cork	... ..	" "
Aquilla Smith, Esq., M.D., Dublin	... ..	14 <i>April</i> , 1855
Abbé Cochet, Dieppe	... ..	2 <i>Sept.</i> 1857
Signor Giovanni Monteroli, Rome	... ..	7 <i>Nov.</i> 1860
Rev. Dr. Hume, Liverpool	... ..	3 <i>April</i> , 1861
The Duca di Brolo	... ..	5 " 1865

ORDINARY MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

FEBRUARY, 1876.

- ADAMSON, Rev. Edward Hussey, Heworth, Durham.
Adamson, William, Cullercoats, Northumberland.
Adamson, Laurence, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Adamson, Horatio A., North Shields.
Allan, Robert Henry, F.S.A., Blackwell Hall, Durham.
Allen, William, Wallsend, Northumberland.
Appleton, John Reed, F.S.A., Durham.
Arkle, Thomas, High Laws, Morpeth, Northumberland.
Atkinson, George Clayton, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Atkinson, William Hall, North Shields.
- Bainbridge, William, North Shields.
Barker, C. D., Radnor House, Great Malvern, Worcestershire.
Barnes, Thomas, Whitburn, Durham.
Bates, Thomas H. Wolsingham, Durham.
Beaumont, Wentworth Blackett, M.P., Bretton Hall, Yorkshire.
Blackett, Sir Edward, Bart., Matfen Hall, Northumberland.
Blair, Robert, South Shields.
Booth, John, jun., Shotley Bridge, Durham.
Boulton, Babington, Bishop Auckland.
Brooks, John C., Wallsend, Northumberland.
Brown, Rev. Dixon, Unthank Hall, Northumberland.
Brown, Ralph, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Bruce, Rev. John Collingwood, LL.D., F.S.A., Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- Cadogan, Charles Hodgson, Brinkburn Priory, Northumberland.
Cail, Richard, Beaconsfield, Gateshead.
Calvert, Rev. Thomas, Brighton, Sussex.
Carr, Rev. H. B., Whickham, Durham.
Charlton, William Henry, Hesleyside, Northumberland.
Clark, Rev. William Atkinson, Belford Hall, Northumberland.
Clavering, Edward, Callaley Castle, Northumberland.

Clayton, John, Chesters, F.S.A., Northumberland.
Crawshay, George, Haughton Castle, Northumberland
Cresswell, A. J. Baker, Cresswell, Northumberland.
Cuthbert, William, Beaufront Castle, Northumberland.

Dees, Robert Richardson, The Hall, Wallsend, Northumberland.
Dodd, William, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Dunn, Martin, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Dunn, Rev. J. W., Warkworth, Northumberland.

Elliott, George, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Ellison, Ralph Carr, Dunston Hill, Durham.
Errington, John, High Warden, Northumberland.

Falconar, John Brunton, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Farmery, William K., Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Fenwick, George A., Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Finch, Rev. Thomas, Morpeth, Northumberland.

Gibb, Charles John, M.D., Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Goddard, Daniel H., Chester-le-Street, Durham.

Hailstone, Edward, F.S.A., Walton Hall, Yorkshire.
Hall, Rev. George Rome, F.S.A., Birtley, Wark, Northumberland.
Haswell, Francis R. N., North Shields.
Heywood, Samuel, London.
Hodgkin, Thomas, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Hodgson, Richard Wellington, North Dene, Gateshead.
Hoyle, William Aubone, Denton Hall, Northumberland.
Huntley, Richard Hodgson, Carham Hall, Northumberland.

Ingledeu, Henry, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

James, Sir Walter Charles, Bart., Betteshanger, Sandwich, Kent.
Johnson, Robert James, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Johnson, Rev. Anthony, Bywell, Northumberland.

Longstaffe, William Hylton Dyer, Gateshead.

Manners, George, Croydon, Surrey.

McDowall, T. W., M.D., Morpeth, Northumberland.

Northumberland, His Grace the Duke of, Alnwick Castle.

Ollier, J. Clement, Riding Mill, Northumberland.

Ormston, Robert, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Oswald, Septimus, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Pemberton, Richard Lawrence, The Barnes, Sunderland.

Philipson, John, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Raine, Rev. James, York.

Ravensworth, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Ravensworth Castle,
Durham.

Rendel, George W., Benwell, Northumberland.

Riddell, Sir Walter Buchanan, Bart., Hepple, Rothbury, Northum-
berland.

Ridley, Sir Matthew White, Bart., Blagdon, Northumberland.

Robinson, Thomas W. U., Houghton-le-Spring, Durham.

Rogers, Rev. Percy, Simonburn, Northumberland.

Rutland, George, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Silvertop, Henry, Minsteracres, Northumberland.

Spence, Robert, North Shields.

Spence, Charles James, North Shields.

Stevenson, Alexander S., Tynemouth.

Swinburne, Sir John, Bart., Capheaton, Northumberland.

Swithinbank, George E., London.

Taylor, Hugh, Chipchase Castle, Northumberland.

Taylor, Edward J., Sunderland.

Thompson, Matthew, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Warwick, John, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Williamson, Rev. R. H., Whickham, Durham.

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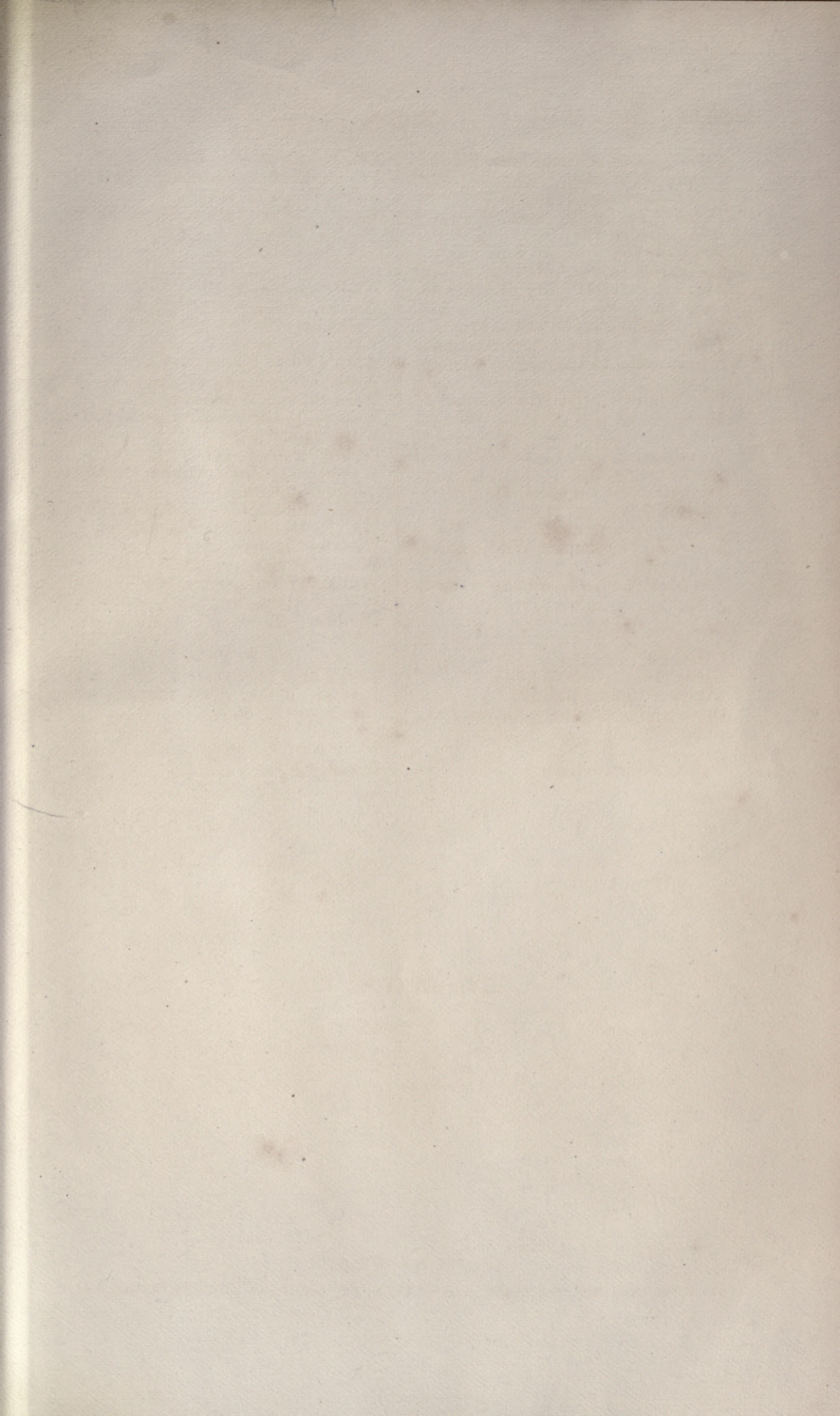
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